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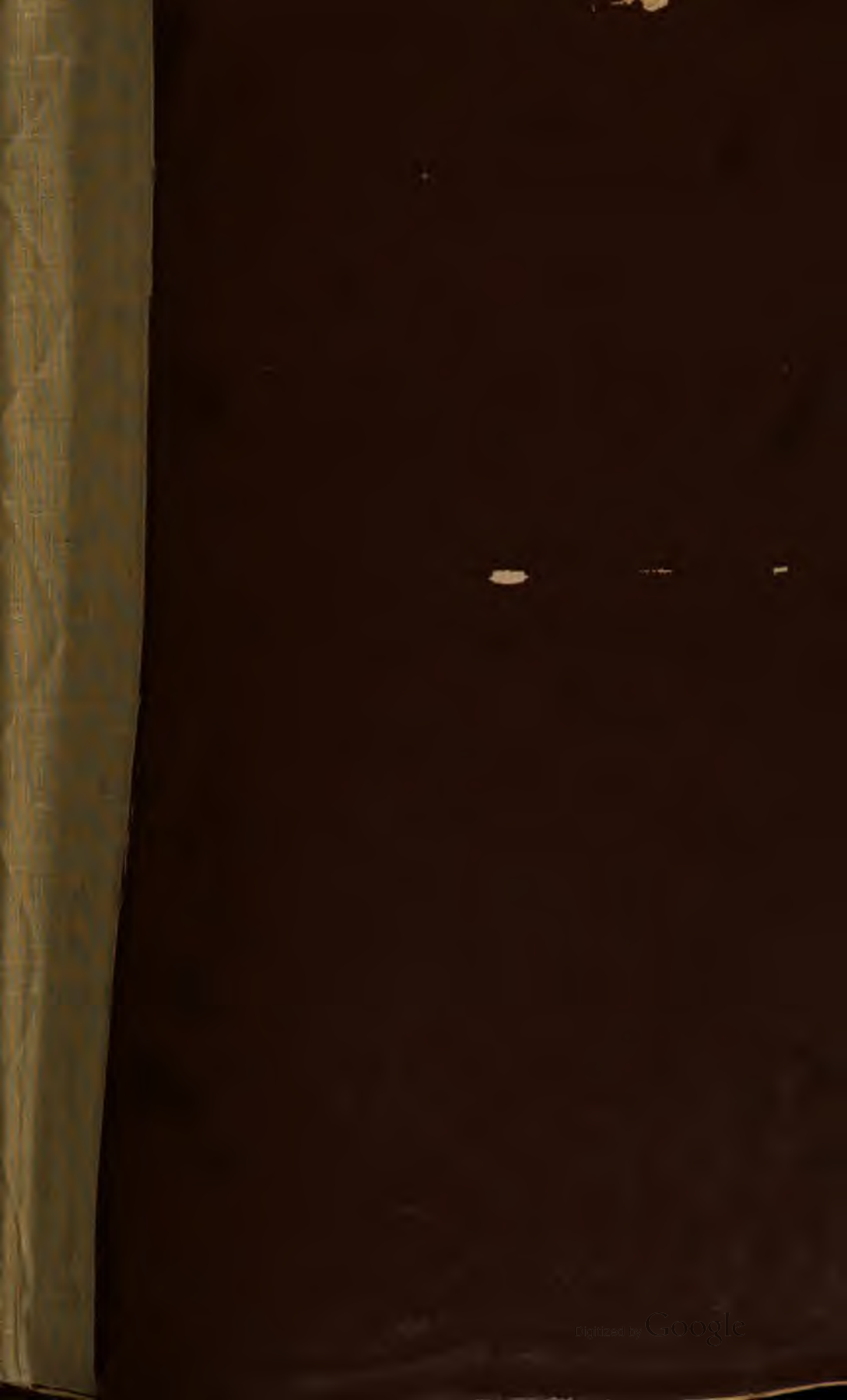
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Committee of Publication.

EDWARD J. YOUNG.

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Charles Deane

Charles Deane

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Massachusetts Historical Society.

SECOND SERIES. — VOL. VII.

1891, 1892.

Published at the Charge of the General Fund.



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P R E F A C E.

THIS volume comprises the Proceedings at nine stated meetings of the Society, beginning with October, 1891, and ending with June, 1892, both inclusive. Among the most important communications submitted at these meetings are the papers by Charles Francis Adams on the site of the Wessagusset Settlement; by Mellen Chamberlain on Governor Winthrop's Estate; by Charles Francis Adams, Abner C. Goodell, Jr., Mellen Chamberlain, and Edward Channing on the Genesis of the Massachusetts Town; by Justin Winsor on the Results of Cartier's Explorations; and the Diaries of Lawrence Hammond, Lucian Minor, Ezra Stiles, Eli Forbes, and Benjamin Boardman. There are also a number of hitherto unpublished letters of historical or biographical interest. Memoirs of seven members are given, namely, THOMAS ASPINWALL, by Charles C. Smith; FRANCIS W. PALFREY, by John C. Ropes; CHARLES DEANE, by Justin Winsor; HENRY M. DEXTER, by John E. Sanford; CHARLES DEVENS, by John C. Ropes; SAMUEL C. COBB, by James M. Bugbee; and

AUGUSTUS T. PERKINS, by William H. Whitmore. Each of these memoirs is accompanied by a portrait; and there are also two fac-similes, one showing the site of the settlement at Wessagusset, and the other reproducing a deed from Governor Winthrop to John Newgate in the handwriting of Thomas Lechford.

For the Committee,

CHARLES C. SMITH.

Boston, October 1, 1892.

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OF THE
MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED APRIL 14, 1892.

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REV. HENRY F. JENKS, A.M. CANTON.

HORACE E. SCUDDER, A.M. CAMBRIDGE.

SOLOMON LINCOLN, A.M. BOSTON.

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THEIR ELECTION.

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1878.

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1889.

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Hon. Henry S. Nourse, A.M.

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William S. Shurtleff, A.M.
Abbott Lawrence Lowell, LL.B.

1891.

Benjamin M. Watson, A.B.
Rev. Samuel E. Herrick, D.D.
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1892.

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John Andrew Doyle, M.A.
Abbé Henry Raymond Casgrain,
Litt.D.
Alexander Brown, Esq.

MEMBERS DECEASED.

Members who have died since the last volume of the Proceedings was issued, Oct. 1, 1891, arranged in the order of their election, and with date of death.

Honorary or Corresponding.

John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. Feb. 22, 1892.

Honorary.

Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L. March 16, 1892.

Corresponding.

George H. Moore, LL.D. May 5, 1892.
Benjamin Scott, Esq. Jan. 18, 1892.
Rev. Thomas Hill, LL.D. Nov. 21, 1891.
George William Curtis, LL.D. Aug. 31, 1892.
Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D. Dec. 21, 1891.
Gen. George W. Cullum, U. S. A. Feb. 28, 1892.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1891.

THE stated meeting, the first since the summer vacation, was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the June Meeting was read by the Recording Secretary, Rev. Dr. EDWARD J. YOUNG, and was approved.

The PRESIDENT then addressed the Society as follows : —

On resuming our meetings we welcome to his place among us again our Corresponding Secretary, Librarian Winsor, returned from his foreign tour for recuperation and historical research. We have had reminders during his absence of his diligence, and of some of its results in the pursuit of his favorite studies. We may hope for further fruits from it.

The event of most serious interest to us as a Society is that which in the death of James Russell Lowell took from our roll the name of one of our most honored and distinguished associates ; of high endowments, of varied accomplishments, of genius alike in prose and poetry in his literary work ; who gave to his country at home and in diplomatic service abroad the devotion of his splendid qualities of mind and character, and whose fame, now widely extended, is to be permanent. We can but add our tribute to those which with such warmth of appreciation and regard, beginning with those nearest to him in life, have extended through our own country, and with affection and respect been repeated with stress of eulogy from the highest ranges of life in Europe.

During the nearly thirty years of his membership of this Society, Mr. Lowell, while in the country, felt the highest inter-

est in its purposes and work, following his revered father in his lengthened term of years in its service. Our late associate was put upon the Publishing Committee for editing the Journal of Judge Sewall. Had not his diplomatic missions taken him abroad, he would have given a most zealous interest to the work. With his characteristic appreciation and taste, he regarded the faithful and communicative pages of that signal Puritan magnate as one of the most precious of all our historic treasures in manuscript or in print. He watched the progress of the work through the press, in the galley proofs which I sent to him, with critical care. He was most concerned that what Sewall wrote should be printed as he wrote it, preserving especially all the archaisms of language. When I had the satisfaction of sending to him in London the three substantial volumes, on which five years of editorial labor had been spent, he wrote from the legation, 5th of June, 1882: "I have this morning received the three handsome volumes of Sewall, and beg you to accept my most sincere thanks. Is there anything I can do for you here, if my Irish fellow-citizens let me stay a little longer? I have peeped into Sewall, and foresee a very great pleasure. It is *redolent*, as Gray would say, of New England; and I am rather fond of New England, between ourselves. I have no doubt of its having been thoroughly edited, and regret nothing more than that I should have lost the chance of helping." Many of us will recall an impressive occasion in this hall, when Mr. Lowell, having returned with honors from his English mission, addressed us as we were then, after his decease, expressing our estimate of the character and career of our associate, Charles Francis Adams, to whom, because of the critical times, and his own special and conspicuous abilities to meet them, it fell to render to his country a service unsurpassed in value and influence by the official work of any one of our diplomatists in England for the century, not even excepting that of his own grandfather and father. Mr. Lowell then made us realize anew how exacting and how complete and triumphant was Mr. Adams's devotion to his imperilled country.

Deeply is it to be regretted that his engrossing occupations precluded that Mr. Lowell should have fulfilled the trust committed to and accepted by him of giving to our Proceedings a memoir of Mr. Longfellow.

We can but enter on our records our own exalted estimate of our late associate, with our sorrow that he is lost to us.

At the close of his remarks the President said that, in accordance with a recommendation of the Council at the last Annual Meeting, no arrangements had been made for the delivery of formal addresses on the death of Mr. Lowell, but the Society would be glad to hear from any member; and he called on Mr. Charles Francis Adams.

In response to this call, Mr. ADAMS spoke in substance as follows:—

No member of the Society, Mr. President, concurs more fully than I in the propriety of the rule or understanding, whichever you may see fit to call it, which tends to bring within more reasonable limits than those which have heretofore obtained the eulogistic notices which during recent years have attended the announcement of the death of our members; but some occasions transcend all rule. From time to time one of our members passes away of such eminence, or so closely associated with the Society or with its work, that something more is fitting at the moment than a mere announcement of his death. Such was the case with Russell Lowell.

Nevertheless, though called upon by you in a way which prevents my observing silence, I cannot but feel I am not the person to speak the fitting word on this occasion. My relations with Mr. Lowell, though pleasant to look back upon, were never close. He was an older man than I,—a man, indeed, of another generation. He was in college in the days of President Quincy, while Jackson and Van Buren were consuls. Nearly twenty years, therefore, passed away, covering the close of Quincy's long administration and the whole of the administrations of Everett and Sparks, between Lowell's graduation and my own. Eighteen years, as we all know, constitute in early life an interval between college men only overcome at a much later period; and I was yet a mere boy when I first heard of Lowell in connection with his still famous "Biglow Papers." He was then the young poet of the political party to which my father belonged,—that party in the early failures of which I took a youthful but eager interest. Yet I do not remember ever having seen or met the already widely known satirist until after my graduation in 1856; for, during my

course at Harvard, Longfellow still held the professorship, nor did his successor enter upon its duties until the class to which I belong had passed out through the college-gate.

Subsequently, though I often met him both in company and at his own house, our paths so diverged that we were never brought into that close contact which enables one man to pass upon another with the confidence of personal knowledge. I can therefore speak of him in no such way as he will presently be spoken of, I hope, by his life-long and own familiar friend, Judge Hoar. I was but an acquaintance.

Nevertheless, in Lowell's life there was one feature which I have not seen referred to in the obituary notices, but which strikes me as noticeable and singularly felicitous. I refer to the fact that its closing years so symmetrically rounded out its commencement. There was a period, I remember, — that immediately succeeding the close of the War of the Rebellion, — when Lowell passed through a stage of mental depression. He was then a man approaching fifty, and it seemed as though he had lived his life, — as though in its earlier period it had been one of singular brilliancy and promise, and he had then done that which in subsequent years he had failed greatly to improve upon. In one sense his career had been, while in another it had failed to be, a sequence. At thirty-six he had been appointed to succeed Longfellow, and twelve years later, with no more years to spare, he could not but feel himself to a certain degree, so to speak, upon the shelf. The novelty of his work as professor had worn itself away, and the future seemed to contain nothing more for him, — if I may use such an expression here and in this connection, he was apparently side-tracked; or, as he himself, if my memory serves me right, more happily expressed it to a female friend of his and mine, — he was "a poor gentleman," and likely to be nothing more during what remained of life. Then it was that, suddenly and most unexpectedly to himself, the whole aspect of his future underwent sudden and pleasing change. One day Lowell found himself nominated by President Hayes for the mission to Vienna, which shortly afterward was changed, most agreeably to himself, for that to Spain. Going to Madrid in 1877, in 1880 he was transferred to the Court of St. James, in the hope, scarcely concealed at Washington, that he would restore the legation there to the high standard which it had been

wont to hold. Both at Madrid and in London, Russell Lowell was in his element. At Madrid, a worthy successor to Irving; in London, though no international difference arose which called for the anxious exercise of diplomatic qualities, through his literary tastes and that peculiar class of oratory which is so highly esteemed in England, he ingratiated himself more fully with that which is best and most desirable in English social life than any American minister who ever there represented the country.

This official period, so grateful to him, lasted for eight years; and then Lowell retired from it in the full enjoyment of success. Coming back to America, it was given him to have yet four years of what may be called life's October days,—days when the man's work is done and his harvest garnered, while the sun, yet well above the horizon, sheds on him a kindly warmth from amid an atmosphere rich and full of enjoyment. He was not called upon to face the chill December. Thus Lowell, as the last years crept on him in the home of his youth, and he looked back over the life in Cambridge and saw it burgeon at exactly the right moment into the career at Madrid and St. James, might have cried out with Browning, his brother poet,—

“the chalice raising,

‘Others give best at first, but Thou

Forever set'st our table praising,—

Keep'st the good wine till now.’”

A single word more. Though for twenty-eight years a member of this Society, Lowell never devoted himself to historical pursuits; yet I believe it will be conceded that no one among us all had such a nice and subtle appreciation as he of the lights and shadows of New England life, or the varied phases of New England character; and the work which he did in this connection, judged from the historical point of view, cannot but make us all regret that he did not more especially devote himself to that field of literature and research which is our Society's peculiar province. The little he did in it no other has in its kind excelled.

Hon. E. R. HOAR then said : —

My relations with James Russell Lowell, extending over a period of more than fifty years, are too tender and personal

for public expression ; yet I could not be present where his memory is honored without wishing to add my little leaf to the wreath of his fame.

What Mr. Adams has so well said is probably all that this occasion requires to be said of his career in public life.

As we think of his intellectual wealth and accomplishments, the unequalled store of varied knowledge which losing him has taken from us, we feel as if some large and full-freighted ship had sunk in the ocean, or a granary had been swept away by a flood. But of my own loss of the friend and companion who always had the breath of the morning with him and never grew old, I can think of nothing more fitting for me to say than to quote the exquisite sentence from Emily Dickinson's letter which I read this morning: "I had a friend who taught me Immortality ; but venturing too near himself, he never returned."

Mr. HORACE E. SCUDDER spoke briefly of Mr. Lowell's exact scholarship, and the readiness with which he gave freely of his own mind to others ; not reserving his best thought for formal expression, but giving spontaneously and generously in conversation and private letters. As editor of the "Atlantic Monthly," he was eager to recognize the work of others, and took the greatest pains to perfect it, wherever he could do so by criticism and advice. In this inconspicuous way he showed his own fine taste to the advantage of others, and in the short period of his editorship made a marked impression upon periodical literature in America, by giving a signal illustration of how a magazine could have a dignity and force impossible to a mere miscellany.

The Society then expressed their tribute of respect for Mr. Lowell, and their sorrow for his loss, by rising.

Mr. Adams was appointed to write the memoir of Edmund Quincy, and Mr. Scudder the memoir of Henry W. Longfellow, which had been previously assigned to Mr. Lowell. The appointment for a memoir of Mr. Lowell himself was deferred to the next meeting.

The acceptances of Dr. Henry P. Walcott, who had been elected a Resident Member, and of the Abbé H. R. Casgrain, who had been elected a Corresponding Member, were announced.

Communications having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said : —

I am empowered by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop to read a paper on his behalf, and I desire to preface it with a few words of explanation. Many of you are doubtless aware that my father's entrance upon his eighty-third year in May last was accompanied by an irregular action of the heart which excited grave uneasiness. It did not confine him to the house or prevent him from moving to Brookline, as usual, for the summer, but it resulted in a physical debility which obliged him to relinquish his accustomed occupations. At all periods of life, however, the manifestations of the human heart are rarely to be predicted with any certainty; and it so happened that as the summer advanced, these alarming symptoms gradually ceased, and my father's strength revived. He is far from having regained his former activity, and was prevented from going to New York last week to preside over the annual meeting of the Southern Education Trustees; but he is now able to enjoy the society of his friends and to occupy himself in some degree with congenial pursuits. It accordingly occurred to him to prepare a short paper for our opening meeting after the summer vacation, by way of showing that the infirmities of age had not weakened his interest in this Society and in the cause of historical literature. If anything could add to his disappointment at not feeling quite able to come here and read it in person, it will be when I tell him that his valued friend, our still more venerable associate, the Rev. Dr. Paige, now, I think, in his ninetieth year, was here this afternoon in that accustomed seat from which he was missed last spring. The regularity of Dr. Paige's attendance at our monthly meetings for nearly half a century constitutes not the least of his many claims to our regard; and I am sure we all unite in the hope that for a considerable time to come he may be permitted to make light of a staircase the height of which inspires so many much younger members with real or imaginary terror.

The Hon. R. C. Winthrop's paper is as follows : —

Horace Walpole on America.

The letters of Horace Walpole contain many allusions to our country during its Revolutionary struggle. In one of

them he says to Sir Horace Mann, on the 7th of September, 1775: "I most heartily wish success to the Americans. They have hitherto made not *one* blunder, and the Administration have made a thousand, — besides the two capital ones of first provoking, and then of uniting, the Colonies." In another letter, at the end of 1777, he says: "We have been horribly the aggressors; and I must rejoice that the Americans are to be free, as they had a right to be, and as I am sure they have shown that they deserve to be." In a third letter, written to Mann and Lady Ossory, in 1783, he says: "Peace is arrived. I cannot express how glad I am. I care not a straw what the terms are. . . . My first wish was to have peace, and the next to see America secure of its liberty. Whether it will make good use of it, is another point. It has an opportunity that never occurred in the world before, of being able to select the best parts of every known Constitution; but I suppose it will not, as too prejudiced against Royalty to adopt it, even as a corrective of Aristocracy and Democracy."

In a previous letter, of July, 1776, he had said: "This little island [England] will be ridiculously proud some ages hence of its former brave days, and swear its capital [London] was once as big again as Paris, or — what is to be the name of the city that will then give laws to Europe? — Perhaps New York or Philadelphia." These passages will sufficiently show Walpole's strong sympathy with the American Revolution, and his prognostications of the future greatness of our country.

But not long before, in a letter to Sir Horace Mann, 24th November, 1774, he makes this remarkable prediction: "The next AUGUSTAN AGE will dawn on the other side of the Atlantic. There will, perhaps, be a Thucydides at Boston, a Xenophon at New York, and, in time, a Virgil at Mexico and a Newton at Peru"!

It is nearly a hundred and seventeen years since this passage came from the pen of Horace Walpole. Mexico, meantime, has certainly not done much in the way of producing a Virgil, and Peru has done still less toward the reproduction of a Newton. But how about Boston and New York? Or, rather, how about the Augustan Age where Walpole predicted it was next to dawn? Let Washington Irving and Ticknor and Prescott and Bancroft and Motley and Parkman answer for

the historians. Let Bryant and Emerson and Longfellow and Whittier and Holmes and Lowell and Poe and Parsons and others I might name, answer for the poets. Brockden Brown, Fenimore Cooper, and Hawthorne may respond for the novelists; Webster and Everett, and a host of others, for the orators; while, though there has been no Sir Isaac Newton, philosophy, mathematics, and science, to say nothing of invention or of the fine arts, have had American votaries within the same period, whose names might well be classed with those more peculiarly associated with American literature.

Longfellow's bust is already in Westminster Abbey. Emerson has been said by Matthew Arnold — whether justly or unjustly — to have written "the most important prose of the century." Queen Victoria herself, within a few months past, has sent to our President a message of sympathy and sorrow on the death of James Russell Lowell; and a service in memory of him has been held in Westminster Abbey. Walpole might well have considered these as no slight confirmations of his prophecy.

But the names which have been mentioned are, with but three or four exceptions, the names of the dead; and for those three or four little or nothing of life or life-work remains. Has then the Augustan Age on this side of the Atlantic not only "dawned" but passed away, without due recognition at home or abroad? Can another be soon looked for more worthy of recognition, and which may be more justly considered as the fulfilment of Horace Walpole's prophecy?

Meantime Massachusetts may justly be proud that if an Augustan Age has really come on this side of the Atlantic, and almost gone, her own contributions to it have been so notable. Of the most eminent literary celebrities who have been named, with the exception of Cooper and Irving, the birthplace was in New England. Most of them were born in Massachusetts, though only two or three of them, I believe, in Boston. But neither our city or State, nor our country at large, has yet exhibited any disposition to signalize this memorable period or those who have made it so memorable. Our statues and monuments have thus far been reserved for heroes and statesmen. Is there no marble in the quarries, no bronze at the foundries, for our literary celebrities? The Memorial Hall at Cambridge is doing something in this line. A special

wing of the Boston Art Museum might be appropriated for Massachusetts or New England Worthies. But somewhere or somehow Horace Walpole's Augustan Age on this side of the Atlantic should not fail to be commemorated. Walpole spoke only of Boston and New York, and thus no reference has been made to other parts of our country. But there are writers of Virginia and Maryland, the Carolinas and other States, who justly claim recognition; and should there not be a national gallery at Washington, spacious enough for the eminent men, literary as well as military or political, of all parts of the Union?

The Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN then spoke briefly of the Liberal principles of Horace Walpole, and of the sources from which they were derived, and referred at some length to the interest which Sir Robert Walpole took in colonial affairs.

On motion of the Treasurer, it was

Voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the current year be placed to the credit of the Committee charged with publishing the volume of Belknap Papers.

A new volume of the Proceedings was announced as ready for delivery. It comprises the proceedings at eleven stated meetings, from May, 1890, to June, 1891, both inclusive, and also the addresses at the centennial commemoration of the organization of the Society.

NOVEMBER MEETING, 1891.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the October meeting was read, and also the list of donors to the Library during the last two months.

Mr. Abbott Lawrence Lowell was appointed to write a memoir of James Russell Lowell for the Proceedings.

THE PRESIDENT read several letters which had been addressed to him in his official capacity. Among them was a letter from William P. Boyd, of Conesus, Livingston County, New York, describing the burial-place of Daniel Shays;¹ and one from Edward W. Lincoln, son of the late Governor Lincoln, reserving the right to have copies made of the correspondence of his father heretofore given to the Society.

Communications from the third section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said : —

I desire briefly to communicate a letter — which I do not intend to read, as I take it for granted it will be printed — written from the island of Teneriffe, in 1645, by a young man of eighteen who had just left Harvard College without taking a degree in order to seek his fortune in foreign countries, his father having experienced pecuniary reverses. He availed himself of an opportunity of sailing from Boston to Teneriffe, intending thence to proceed to England; but finding unexpected employment in the counting-room of an English merchant, he decided to make some stay in that island, and forthwith proceeded to write a long letter to his father, describing his arrival and change of plan. All this would call for no remark, were it not that, with the exception of the address, the whole letter is in Latin, — a somewhat mediæval Latin, it is true, but by no means bad, all things considered; while the penmanship is unusually clear and even elegant. It has never been an uncommon thing for young men to sail

¹ See Proceedings, vol. viii. p. 257.

for Europe on leaving Harvard,—in our day they go by scores,—but during the two centuries and a half of the existence of the College I imagine there have been few instances where a student on his travels has availed himself of his first stopping-place to write his father at length in a dead language. Nor is it likely that a stranger arriving in Teneriffe in the year 1645 would have had easy access to a Latin grammar or dictionary; and we may fairly assume this composition to have been the result of instruction previously received in Boston or at Harvard, the writer having been brought to New England when he was three years old. The letter therefore affords us a glimpse of the scholarship attainable by young men of eighteen in the Massachusetts Colony at that very early period; and it shows, I think, that the authorities of the infant College knew how to imbue their pupils with a taste for the classics,—and this without prejudice to modern tongues, as in the same letter the writer expresses an earnest wish to perfect himself in Spanish. For these reasons it seems to me quite worth printing; but I do not forget that in recent years some distinguished members of this Society have been credited with a disposition to depreciate, if not to deride, the advantages of devoting much time to Greek or Latin, and for their benefit I have been careful to append a translation.

I may add that the writer of the letter was Governor Winthrop's youngest son Samuel, who subsequently became a planter in the West Indies and was for several years Deputy-Governor of the island of Antigua, where he displayed great bravery at the time of a French invasion, and where he died, in the prime of life, in 1674, having, through his intimacy with the celebrated George Fox, become a Quaker. Many years ago, when Mr. Smith and I edited the fourth volume of this Society's selections from the Winthrop Papers, we printed twenty-four letters from this Samuel to his family in New England, written between 1646 and 1673. They excited some interest at the time, both from the agreeable impression they gave of the man and from the additional light they threw upon West Indian history; but they were all in English. We knew of the existence of this earlier letter in Latin, but we were unable to print it, as my father had mislaid it. It has since come to light, which is the reason I now make it the subject of a separate communication.

I desire further to communicate from the same source a fragment of a letter in an unknown hand and without signature, but dated at Barbadoes, Feb. 1, 1674-5, and apparently addressed to Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut by some friend or relative of his who had sailed from New London to Barbadoes with a cargo of horses and provisions, intending to proceed thence to England with a cargo of sugar. It contains particulars and considerations with regard to the trade then existing between the West Indies and New England which seem to me well worth printing.

SAMUEL WINTHROP TO HIS FATHER.

To his honored Father John Winthrop Esq. at Boston, in New England, these present.

[1645.]

COLENDISSIME PATER,

Dei gratiâ, per totam navigationem integrâ valitudine freti, tandem tuti et incolumes ex undarum periculis, iisque non minimis, Teneriffae appulimus, ubi magnâ humanitate à gente nostrâ tractati fuimus, presertim à viro quodam, antea ignoto, mercatore ære mediocri et famâ, splendidâ honestate, nomine Ferdinando Body, cujus vitæ probitas, morum integritas, ingeniique suavitas, omnibus in tantum elucerrunt quod ipse filius tuus, in omnibus tibi obediens, multum desiderabam memet cum isto viro collocare, idque subsequentibus rationibus. Primo, quod eram certae vocationis destitutus, ignarus quod genus vitæ amplecterer. Deinde, avidus dediscendi linguam Hispanicam, quam si transirem in Angliam nequiveram comperire. Tertio, temporum rerumque solo paterno instabilitas, in tantum quod nemo novit quid ibi amplecti quidve renuere. Quarto, quod video multos de nostratibus in dies ditescere et ex nihilo in altum vehi. Quinto, Dei providentiæ quas video in hac meâ electione concurrentes suadere videntur, quæ sunt cujusmodi: Deus quasi ex proposito hunc mihi locum paravit hoc enim tempore abire omnes ejus ministri, quod non relinquitur ne unus quidem ad ejus negotia peragenda; secundo, conditiones intercedentes quæ sunt valdè faciles et honestæ, ut primo non me instar servi haberet sed fas erit abire quando mihi libuerit, deinde me nihilo carere quamdiu cum illo mansero. His omnibus consideratis frater meus, quem tu supra me tuâ vice constituisti, hujus morae consilium applicuit. Multa novi pericula et incommoda quibus sim obnoxius semper ad futura, ad quæ perferenda et fugienda submissè precor ut Omnipotenti me precibus diuternis memores, qui solus bonum ostendit. Precor ut presbuteris omnibus qui de me rogitabunt, Presidique nostro

Henrico Dunstero viro spectatissimo, quam potes officiosissimè me commendatum habeas.

Avunculo amitaëque Downingo officiosae demissionis ex me salutes dicito, caeterosque amicos meo nomine saluta, qui maneo et nunc et semper

Filius tuus obsequentissimus,

SAMUEL WINTHROPUS.

Verte folium.

Aliud est quod antea praetermisi. Est quidam Davidus Stephens, mercaturae gratiâ suprâ dicto Ferdinando obligatus, quem fama dicit valdè ingeniosum, amabilem et probum, qui quoniam quibusdam negotiis detentus erat in Laraguna (quo tota æstate nostrates semet concipiunt suavioris vitae gratiâ) non indicasset mihi quid in hac re statuerat quum superiora scribebam. Nuperrimè vero descendens multâ humanitate me accepit, cui precor quum dabitur scribendi ansa ne sis immemor gratias tribuere. Reverende Pater, non novi quomodo arridebit tibi quod feci, si novissim placitum tuum memet penitus eatenus applicuissem. Spero nihil tibi contrarium accessurum. Com-mendo memet in manus Altissimi, ut ille me dirigat immaculatumque tueatur, cujus voti ut sim compos ardeo precûm tuarum opem exoptatissimam.

Indorsed by Governor Winthrop: "Sonne Sam^l from Teneriff. Latin."

[Translation of the foregoing.]

MOST WORSHIPFUL FATHER,

By God's favor through the whole voyage in good health, at length safe and sound from the dangers of the sea, and these not trifling, we have arrived at Teneriffe, where we have been treated with much politeness by our compatriots, especially by one Ferdinand Body, before unknown to us,—a merchant of modest fortune and repute but shining honesty, the uprightness of whose life, the blamelessness of whose morals, and the sweetness of whose disposition are so surpassing that I, your son obedient to you in all things, greatly desire to take up my abode with him, and that for the following reasons: First, because I have no fixed calling, not knowing what profession I should embrace. Then, my earnest wish to learn the Spanish language, which, if I go to England, I shall not be able to acquire. Third, the unsettled condition of things in our fatherland, insomuch that no one can tell what to enter upon and what to avoid. Fourth, because I see many of our people daily growing rich and raising themselves from nothing. Fifth, I seem persuaded in this my choice by

providences of God concurring in this wise: as if God had purposely provided this position for me at a time when all his clerks have left him, so that no one is left to attend to his business; next, the terms arranged between us, which are very easy and honorable, as primarily that he shall not control me like an apprentice, but that I shall be allowed to leave when I please; then, that I shall want for nothing while I remain with him. All these things considered, my brother,¹ whom you have set over me in your place, agrees in the wisdom of this delay.

I have experienced many perils and inconveniences, and shall always be exposed to them in the future; in order that I may support or escape them, I humbly beg that you will remember me in your daily prayers to the Omnipotent, who alone can direct us in the right path. Pray have me remembered as courteously as you can to all the Elders who shall ask after me, and to our most esteemed President, Henry Dunster. To my Uncle and Aunt Downing convey my dutiful regards, and salute all other friends in my name, who remains, now and ever,

Your most obedient son,

SAMUEL WINTHROP.

Turn over the leaf.

Another thing I have before omitted. Connected in the way of business with the aforesaid Ferdinand is one David Stephens, reputed a very intelligent, amiable, and upright man, whose affairs detained him in Laraguna (where people pass the whole summer for a more agreeable climate), and who, when I wrote the foregoing, had not communicated to me what he had decided in this matter; but having just arrived, he has received me with much kindness. Do not forget to thank him when you have an opportunity of writing. Revered father, I know not how what I have done will please you. If I had been aware of your wishes, I should have followed them implicitly. I hope nothing will annoy you. I commit myself to the hands of the Most High, that he may lead me and keep me virtuous; and in order to obtain this I earnestly desire the most wished-for aid of your prayers.

¹ One of his elder brothers, afterward Col. Stephen Winthrop, M.P., was a passenger in the same vessel, and shortly after wrote his father on the same subject. Both letters are undated; but Stephen Winthrop mentions that news had arrived from England that the parliamentary forces had taken Bristol, and laid siege to Basing House. As Cromwell is known to have begun the siege of Basing in September, 1645, and as this intelligence may have taken two months to reach Teneriffe, these letters could hardly have been written before November of that year. See 5 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. viii. pp. 201-204.

[Fragment, without address or signature.]

BARBADOS, y^e 1st of februa 1674.

HON^{ED} S^R, — Through God's goodnesse I arriued saife heere on Tuesday y^e 19th of Janua past, haueing 26 dayes passage & extrodinary good weather for that season of y^e yeare. S^t Anthoney Adkins y^e p'sent Gouvern^r arriued heere about tenn weekes before us, since which heere hath bin noe shippes from London but such as hane bin forced hither by stresse of weather from y^e cost of New England & Virginia, which are many, & som of them haue bin much damnified, & most of them from home neere foure moneths. Soe that heere is little of nuse, only many enyeing the prossperouse estate of N: England saying all will bee reduced under New Yorke, a thing y^e Quakers heere much long for, who are a people heere very welthy & numerose, beeing aboue one third of y^e Island of that tenent, & dayle-y getting new converts. The day after my arriuall I had the hon^r to dyne with the Gentlemen of y^e Assembly, many of which had rec'd greate prejudis against New England for their not attempting to reduce New Yorke, which I p'sume was from misinformation rec'd from p'judis'd persons. For after I had informd them how strong the Duch had made it dureing the stay of their fleete, as alsoe the want of shippes of forse, y^e unseasonable time of y^e yeare, with many other considerable inconvenyences attending it, — as y^e want of many of our vessells which ware then heere for their supply of prouition (which wee wanted to transport men, prouition & vtensells of warr) many others absent on y^e like seruiss, with whome ware most of our able experienced men for such seruiss, — they ware well satisfi'd & doe account themselues obleidged to New England for the supply of prouition they had dureing the warr, consid'ing y^e greate risque they rann by transporting them in such mean vessells of burthen & without forse. They are now alsoe much dissatisfi'd with the Custom imposed of 18^d on y^e hundred, I haueing informed them that our merchants resolue to shipp the greatest part of their effects for England, whereby their rum & molasses heere will becom of noe use or vallew to them, with which they haue hitherto supplied their plantations with prouition & horses, beeing very considerable benefitt to them & a proffit they will soone misse; & to confirme what I haue informed them, all our New England vessells goeing for sault, take none of y^e Island groath with them, but shipp sug^r to England or lay out their money heere in goods, which still proues the Islands disadvantage & will putt them on the consideration of haueing that tax eased at their next sitting, som propounding one way for satisfi'ing the King's Customs, others willing to haue it laid on y^e Island, but all sensible of the greate prejudis will accrue to them yf they loose the benefitt of those two comodities, which are vendable in noe part of y^e

world but New England & Virginea. Which consideration I did forward by informing them how aduantageous it would proue to New England yf they were denyed the use of those goods, haueing a full supply of good mault for beere, & syder to distill into liquors, & that a smale quantity of sug^r will furnish us, haueing store of good honey; alsoe that greate part of our people will be improued in raiseing manufactures, haueing good wooll, flax & hempe, & not altogether about provision (as they deemed) to make it a drugg.

I brought all my horses saife & to an indifferent good markett, viz: 3000^{lb} sug^r & head. Prouitions are low, espeteally flower, pease & bread, alsoe beefe & candles. I haue disposed of aboue one halfe of what I brought for lesse money heere then it would haue sould for at Boston & see little hopes of goeing for England this 6 weekes or two moneths, heere beeing little sug^r ready, nor any frayte to bee gott home till y^e London shippes com in, which are dayley looked for, but will stay that time before they can bee ready to saile. I brought a barell of apples for Coll: Newton & tooke them vp at sea to cull & preserue what then remained good, but by that time wee gott in they ware all perished to about twenty, which hee thankfully accepted from you.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR communicated some memoranda about Dartmoor Prison and the Hutchinson manuscripts, handed to him by Mr. Edward L. Pierce, as follows:—

“On October 5, 1891, I drove in the early morning from Morton Hampstead, in a dog-cart, to Princetown, across Dartmoor Forest,—a forest distinguished in this, that it has no trees. Most of the time for the drive of fourteen miles I was enveloped in fog,—a cause of obscurity of vision common to this locality,—and so my view was limited. My visit was particularly for the purpose of seeing Dartmoor Prison, where my maternal uncle, Samuel S. Lillie, was imprisoned in the War of 1812. The officers of the prison were civil, the deputy-governor himself conducting me about within the enclosure. To my inquiry he answered that he had never had but one American visitor coming on the same errand. The present prison for convicts was established, I think, about 1850; but the two old prison buildings remain, overshadowed by the larger and newer ones. The American prison is now used for making boots and shoes. The French prison is near by. The tradition is that the American prisoners were quite difficult to manage. I was shown two yards or gardens, arranged with walks and beds of flowers, in which convicts were at work under a gardener. In one was an obelisk, in the centre, on which was this inscription: ‘In memory of the American prisoners of war who died between the years 1809 and 1814, and are buried here. Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.’ In the other was an obelisk, with the same inscription, excepting the substitution of

'French' for 'American.' The ground was all smooth, and there appeared no individual grave or memorial. The two cemeteries were in a bad condition till as late as 1865, some of the bones appearing above the ground; but in that year all that could be found were re-buried, the grounds put in good order, and the obelisks erected. A fine parish church, opposite the prison, is said to have been built by the war prisoners. I was shown a thin volume, published a few years ago, giving an account both of the war and of the convict prisons, and incidents connected with them.

"On the evening of Oct. 5, 1891, I called, at Sidmouth, on Mr. P. O. Hutchinson, great-grandson of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, and editor of the latter's 'Diary.' We had had some previous correspondence, as his book relates much to Milton, my own place of residence, and as also the families of the Hutchinsons and the Lillies (the latter being my maternal progenitors) are related to each other. Mr. Hutchinson is well known in his town, being recognized as the leading archaeologist of the locality. His house is known as 'The Chancel,' being named from a part of a demolished church which he saved and secured for his own building. He is an accomplished carver; and on the ceiling of his library are coats of arms, worked by himself, which are, I think, armorial ensigns connected with the history of the locality. Mr. Hutchinson is, I may add, a bachelor. He informed me that he had deposited in the British Museum the Governor Hutchinson manuscripts, where they may always be found for the verification of his publication."

Mr. WINSOR also said that he was somewhat surprised to find in the last volume of the Proceedings an Italian text of the first letter of Columbus which had escaped his attention. When recently in Genoa, he was for two or three days under the guidance of the Cavaliere Cornelio Desimoni, the honorary archivist of Genoa, and our Corresponding Member. He is probably the best Italian authority on the earliest American exploration; and Mr. Winsor would have thought it strange that this letter was not brought to his attention by his friend, if Desimoni supposed it worth considering. Mr. Winsor further remarked that he had sent the text as printed in the Proceedings to Mr. Harris in Paris, the first authority on mooted points in Columbus's career; and in a letter from that gentleman it appears that the document was known to him as a contemporary version of the Spanish original in the Venetian dialect, and showing some palpable errors, or perhaps misconceptions of the translator. It is curious as a contemporary

evidence of a certain amount of interest existing in Venice in the new discoveries, but of no other value.

It may be worth remarking that a few years ago, when one of the United States war-ships was in Genoa, the municipal authorities, to compliment its officers, caused full-sized photographs of a few of the letters of Columbus preserved in the City Hall in that place, to be made, and presented a set to each of the officers. They are probably preserved now in those officers' families in different parts of the country; but one of the sets has found its way into the library of Harvard College.

The reference to the Hutchinson papers elicited remarks from the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, the President, and Mr. Winsor, relative to the materials used by Governor Hutchinson in writing the third volume of his "History of Massachusetts." Judge Chamberlain spoke of the minuteness of the narrative, and said that when Hutchinson went to England in 1774, he expected to return to Boston, and it was not probable that he carried with him materials for writing a history. His papers were subsequently seized by the authorities here; but in some way he had access to a large mass of original papers. The President suggested that Hutchinson no doubt took with him all the papers which he needed for his own vindication, and that his son, who went to England in the following year, might have carried others. Mr. Winsor said a list of Hutchinson's papers was printed in "Notes and Queries" some years ago.

Rev. Dr. Lucius R. Paige said that John Wheeler, one of the leaders in Shays's Rebellion, was a resident of Hardwick, his native town, and described the circumstances connected with the reprieve of the convicted insurgents. Wheeler had been a lieutenant in the militia, and some years afterward was commissioned by Governor Hancock a captain, as if promoted.

The Librarian said he had received an official communication from the Assistant Secretary of State at Washington, transmitting the copy of a despatch from the American minister at The Hague, and three Dutch medals.¹ The despatch is as follows:—

¹ These medals, and others of the same period, are fully described by our associate Mr. William S. Appleton, in the "American Journal of Numismatics," vol. ii. p. 64.

No. 257.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
THE HAGUE, August 31, 1891.

To the Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE, Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

SIR,—I have the honor to state that on a recent occasion, while paying a visit to the Royal Museum at The Hague, I discovered three medals, which by reason of their relation to prominent events in our early history, and other considerations hereafter alluded to, render it proper that I should bring them to the notice of the Department.

The first medal in the series referred to was designed to commemorate the recognition of American Independence by the Province of Friesland on the 26th of February, 1782, a description of which is as follows:—

On the obverse side is a male figure personating a Frisian in ancient costume, joining right hands with an American, represented by a maiden in aboriginal dress, standing on a sceptre, with her left hand resting on a shield bearing the inscription: "The United States of North America"; while with his left hand the Frisian signals his rejection of an olive branch offered by a Briton, represented by a maiden accompanied by a tiger, the left hand of the maiden resting on a shield having the inscription: "Great Britain."

On the reverse side is the figure of an arm projecting from the clouds holding the Coat of Arms of the Province of Friesland, under which is the inscription: "To the State of Friesland, in grateful recognition of the Acts of Assemblies in February and April, 1782, by the Burgher's Club of Leeuwarden Liberty and Zeal."

The second medal in this series was struck off by order of the States General in commemoration of its recognition of the Independence of the United States.

On the obverse side of the medal will be found the United States and the Netherlands represented by two maidens equipped for war, with right hands joined over a burning altar. The Dutch maiden is placing an emblem of freedom on the head of the American, whose right foot, attached to a broken chain, rests on England, represented by a tiger. In the field of the medal are the words: "Libera Soror. Solemni Decr. Agn. 19 Apr. MDCCLXXXII."

On the reverse side is the figure of a unicorn lying prostrate before a steep rock, against which he has broken his horn; over the figure are the words, "Tyrannis Virtute Repulsa," and underneath the same the words, "sub Galliæ auspiciis."

The third medal in the series was made to commemorate the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation entered into between the United States and the Netherlands, the 7th of October, 1782.

On its obverse side stands in relief a monumental needle, bearing

the Amsterdam Coat of Arms, upon which a wreath is being placed by a figure representing Mercury; underneath the Coat of Arms is a parchment, bearing the inscription, "Pro Dro Mvs." France, symbolized by a crowing cock, stands beside the needle, pointing, with a conjurer's hand, to a horn of plenty and an anchor. Over all are the words: "Justitiam et non temnere divos."

On the reverse side is an image of Fame, riding on a cloud, and carrying the Arms of the Netherlands and the United States, surmounted by a naval crown. The figures are covered by the following words: "Favstissimo foedere junctæ. Die VII Octob. MDCCLXXXII."

It will be remembered that John Adams, while discharging his duties at Paris as Commissioner in arranging a treaty of Peace and Commerce with Great Britain, was, in the year 1780, appointed Minister to the Netherlands; also that political complications between Holland and England delayed his reception by the government for more than two years after he first offered his credentials.

The States General, oppressed by the magnitude of the responsibility, refused to pass upon the question until it had been submitted to each of the Provinces for individual action.

Friesland, impelled by the Germanic love of freedom which had long characterized its people, took the initiative in the movement for recognition, passing an Act to that effect on the 26th of February, A.D. 1782. Soon thereafter the remaining Provinces followed her example, and on the 19th of April, 1782, the States General, in deference to the wishes of the Provinces, received Mr. Adams's credentials.

It will also be borne in mind that while a Dutch man-of-war first saluted the American flag, Holland stands second in the roll of foreign nations which formally recognized our independence, and the second with whom we made a treaty of commerce and navigation.

The medals in question possess interest, in that they furnish the best evidence extant of the current of opinion and sentiment at that time in the Netherlands concerning England and the United States, and are moreover worthy of special mention, inasmuch as I do not find them referred to in Mr. Adams's public correspondence, or in any book published in our language.

Through the courtesy of the government I have been permitted to procure five copies of each of these medals, and take pleasure in transmitting them to the Department through the agency of the American Despatch Agent, London.

One set is designed for the Department of State; one for the New York Historical Society; one for the Massachusetts Historical Society; one for the Minnesota State Historical Society; and one for the Holland Society of New York.

Should the Department approve, the four last-mentioned sets may

be forwarded to each of the above-named societies, with a copy of this despatch.

There can be no more interesting or profitable study for the citizen of the United States, than the process of reasoning which led to our separate national existence, and the adoption of the present form of government; or the motives which influenced the people of other lands to welcome our advent into the family of nations.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

SAMUEL R. THAYER.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mr. Thayer for his valuable gift.

Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS then read the following communication: —

There are two matters, both of an historical character, though wholly disconnected, to which I desire to call the attention of the Society.

After Gov. William Coddington, of Rhode Island, went into exile, in April, 1638, as a result of the so-called Antinomian controversy, a portion of the grant made to him at "the Mount," as it was called, three years before by the city of Boston, passed into the possession of the town of Braintree; and a copy of the deed of this land fills the first page of the Records of the town. It was called "the Schoole Land," and was conveyed by Coddington's attorney, Richard Wright, to the Selectmen of the town. Unfortunately, as appears by examining the printed volume of the Braintree Records, the original record-book has been so mutilated by two centuries of handling that only a portion of the instrument can be deciphered.

It has from time immemorial been the tradition in Braintree and Quincy that this School Land was a voluntary gift from Coddington to the town, and by him devoted to educational purposes.

Never having fully satisfied myself that such was really the case, during the past summer, in connection with other historical work upon which I am engaged, I have either made, or caused to be made, a careful examination of all the evidence bearing upon the subject. This examination satisfied me that the lands in question did not come to the town of Braintree as

a gift from Coddington, but that they were conveyed to the town by Wright as the result of a law-suit, and under circumstances suggesting a surmise that Coddington was not only exiled from Massachusetts, but after his exile was judicially despoiled of a portion of his property. These conclusions I embodied a short time since in a somewhat elaborate communication, which appeared in the "Quincy Patriot" of September 19 of the present year, and has since been reprinted in the October number of the "Magazine of New England History" (vol. i. pp. 228-238). The subject is one of greater historical interest in Rhode Island than here; for in Rhode Island Governor Coddington occupies much the same place in the public estimation that John Winthrop occupies in Massachusetts. Anything relating to him is there eagerly studied. I did not deem it worth while to submit to the Society a paper prepared on a matter of such purely local and town interest, and have it incorporated in their Proceedings; but nevertheless, I want to call attention to the fact that such an investigation as I have stated has been made and such a paper prepared, and put a mention of it on file here, as an indication of where it can be found. Accordingly, I now mention the fact with an eye to the Indexes to the printed Proceedings of the Society; and I will further state, should any investigator hereafter put upon the clew wish to examine the paper referred to, that a copy of the "Quincy Patriot" containing it has been placed in the scrap-book of this Society, and also among the collections of each one of the public libraries of Rhode Island, so far as their names have come to my knowledge.

The other matter to which I wish to call attention is of much greater interest, and immediately connected with a well-known incident in early Massachusetts history. I refer to the site of Weston's plantation of 1622 at Wessagusset, or Wessagusset, in what is now the town of Weymouth.

Nearly twenty years ago I was invited to deliver an address upon the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the town of Weymouth. In preparing that address I made an effort to locate the site of Weston's settlement, but was able to get no further indication of it than is contained in the following extract from Russell's "Guide to Plymouth":—

"A correspondent in Quincy thus describes the place: 'It is about three miles southeast of the granite church in Quincy, at a place locally called Old Spain.' Weston's colony sailed up Fore River, which separates Quincy from Weymouth, and then entered Phillips Creek, and commenced operations on its north bank" (p. 106, note).

It seemed to be well established that the site of Weston's settlement was in that part of Weymouth now locally known as "Old Spain"; though no one has ever yet been able to suggest even a plausible theory why it is called "Old Spain." It will be remembered that when Governor Winthrop in 1632 paid his first visit to Plymouth, he started from Boston on what is now the 4th of November, taking with him John Wilson, the pastor of the church, and others, and, going on board the "Lion," was carried by the captain of that ship in a boat to Wessagusset. There they passed the night, and "the next morning . . . the Governor and his company went on foot to Plimouth, and came thither within the evening." This was Friday; remaining at Plymouth until the following Wednesday, "about five in the morning the Governor and his company came out of Plimouth; the Governor of Plimouth, with the pastor and elder, etc., accompanying them near half a mile out of town in the dark"; and they "came that evening to Wessagusset, where they were bountifully entertained as before with more turkeys, geese, ducks, etc., and the next day came safe to Boston."¹

The point here to be emphasized is Winthrop's double visit to Wessagusset in November, 1632, and his stay there both going to and coming from Plymouth. He was more or less familiar with the locality, and knew exactly where to place the settlement on a map of the coast, especially how it lay as regarded the harbor and the approaches to it.

Wood, in his "New England's Prospect,"² says of Wessagusset in 1633:—

"This as yet is but a small village; yet it is very pleasant and healthful, very good ground, and is well timbered, and hath good store of hay-ground. It hath a very spacious harbour for shipping before the town, the salt water being navigable for boats and pinnaces two leagues. Here the inhabitants have good store of fish of all sorts, and swine, having acorns and clams at the time of year. Here is likewise an alewife river."

¹ Savage's Winthrop, i. *92, *93.

² Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts, pp. 394, 395.

There is accordingly no doubt whatever that Weymouth was the oldest settled place in the original colony of Massachusetts Bay; and, next to Plymouth, is the oldest settled place in what is now the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Originally selected about the middle of May, 1622, for the site of a plantation by those sent out by Thomas Weston, it was occupied by Weston's company in the following August. Early in April, 1623, those composing the plantation having in the course of the winter fallen into great straits, Miles Standish went to their assistance from Plymouth, and there on the 6th of the month, according to the revised calendar, had his bloody fight with the Indians, resulting in the killing of Pecksuot and Wituwamut. Wessagusset was then wholly abandoned; but "the pale and houses," to use the expression in Winslow's "Good Newes"¹ had not been destroyed by the savages, and they were occupied by Capt. Robert Gorges and his party about the middle of the following September.² Since then the place has never been wholly abandoned; and the first permanent and continuous settlement on the shores

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Pilgrims*, p. 344.

² Referring to a similar statement heretofore made, Nash in a note to his "History of Weymouth" remarks (p. 22): "Mr. Adams says about the middle of September. In Sir Fernando Gorges' description of New England [*Briefe Narration*, p. 33; Baxter's *Gorges*, vol. ii. p. 50], he says, 'my son arrived [at Wessagusset] about the beginning of August.'"

Bradford is the authority for the date given. He says (*History*, p. 148): "About the middle of September arrived Captaine Robert Gorges in the Bay of the Massachusetts." Bradford is on this point a much more reliable authority than Sir Ferdinando Gorges; for not only was he on the ground, but he was at once notified by Robert Gorges by letter of the arrival of the latter, who immediately afterwards visited Plymouth. Bradford also made his record at the time, and is always to be relied on as an authority. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, on the contrary, was not only at a distance, but he wrote at least fourteen years after the event; and the statements on many points of detail in the "*Briefe Narration*" are made from memory and are unreliable. Adams's *Three Episodes*, p. 23, note; Baxter's *Memoir of Gorges*, p. 104, note.

In the present case, moreover, there can be no doubt that Bradford was right, and Gorges wrong. The Records of the Council for New England show that the vessel in which Robert Gorges sailed was not ready for sea at the end of June (*Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, April, 1867, and October, 1875); and Bradford's narrative of events immediately subsequent to Robert Gorges' arrival shows that all those events took place in October and early November.

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, writing many years afterwards, seems to have given the time of his son's departure from England for that of his arrival in Massachusetts Bay, where he probably landed somewhere between the 28d and 27th of September, 1623, according to the calendar now in use.

of Boston Bay dates, therefore, from the landing of Robert Gorges' party at Wessagusset, or Weymouth, in September, 1623. This whole subject, it may be remembered, I discussed in a paper read before this Society thirteen years ago, printed in Volume XVI. of the Proceedings (pp. 194-206), and again in another paper in the "Memorial History of Boston" (vol. i. chap. iii.). Wessagusset, therefore, is a place the exact locality of which it is desirable should be fixed.

A short time ago I for the first time carefully examined a copy of Winthrop's original map, of 1634, of Massachusetts Bay, found by Mr. Henry F. Waters in England. I noticed on this map that Wessagusset was located by Governor Winthrop not upon Phillips Creek, or at the place which tradition has always indicated, but farther north, and at a point much more naturally adapted to the purposes of a pioneer trading-station. I have never felt satisfied that the traditional site on the north side of Phillips Creek was the correct one. Repeated and careful examination of the ground disclosed no possible reason for there placing such a station. The site does not look toward the sea, commanding the entrance to the harbor; neither is there good anchorage in front of it, as Wood says there was before Wessagusset, nor is it readily accessible. The site indicated on Winthrop's map struck me at once as being far more natural.

As I wished to fix the probable true site with as much confidence as possible, I invited Mr. Henry W. Haynes, of the Society, and Mr. Thomas F. Cleverly, a resident of "Old Spain," who has given much attention to matters connected with its local history, to visit the ground with me. We went there, accordingly, on the 18th of October, taking a copy of Winthrop's map with us.

I shall ask to have that portion of the map which includes the Wessagusset site and its immediate vicinity reproduced in connection with this paper. I will merely add that, considering how freely this map is drawn, and how much of what is on it is merely roughly indicated, it will be found in all essential respects, when examined on the spot, singularly accurate. For instance, not only the outline of the coast, but all the rivers and creeks are so correctly set down as to be recognized at once. The site of Thomas Morton's Merrymount, subsequently Mount Wollaston, can be placed lying between what

NORTH



SECTION OF "THE WATERS-WINTHROP MAP".



was known as the Mount Wollaston River and the Quincy River. So also the stream running down from what is now known as Braintree Neck, and also the Weymouth Fore River and the Weymouth Back River. The exact position of the present bridge connecting Quincy Point with "Old Spain" can be seen, as also the outline of the tidal basin south of it. An examination of the map shows that Governor Winthrop, who had been there personally, located the Wessagusset settlement nearly opposite the mouth of the Quincy River, and a little if anything north of it. Phillips Creek, on the other hand, also on the opposite shore, is actually a considerable distance above the mouth of the Quincy River, and quite concealed from it. A purely tidal inlet, it is not indicated on the map. There is now no anchorage ground near it; and in this most important respect it fails to agree with Wood's description, — "a very spacious harbor for shipping before the town."

Going on the 18th of October to the site of the Wessagusset plantation, according to Winthrop's map, it was at once obvious to us that this locality was the one which naturally would have been selected for the purposes of a pioneer trading-station. Not only was there good anchorage, as Wood says, in front of it and within a reasonable distance of the shore, but the place commands a clear and unbroken view of the entrance to the harbor through what is now known as "Hull Gut," or the passage between Hull and Peddock's Island. Had the site north of Phillips Creek been selected, it would have been impossible to get from it any view of the harbor, while it is obvious that for those seeking to establish a trading-post, — the sole object which Weston's people had in view, — an unobstructed view of the harbor's mouth was a matter of the first importance. The locality indicated by Winthrop was also well adapted for plantation purposes, inasmuch as the ground is level, the ascent from the beach not too abrupt, and fresh water must have been easily obtainable in the immediate vicinity.

Winthrop, it will be observed, places Wessagusset upon the north side of the cove, or indenture of the shore, opposite the mouth of the Quincy River. This cove is unmistakably that now called King's Cove, formerly known as Hunt's Hill Cove. The point to the north of it, directly opposite

the mouth of the Quincy River, has always been known as Hunt's Hill Point. Nash, in his sketch of Weymouth (p. 152), says that—

“In the early part of the eighteenth century a company was formed by a number of the prominent men of the town for the purpose of carrying on ‘a fishing trade to Cape Sables,’ and the town granted to it the use of ‘so much of Hunt’s Hill, with the lowland and beach adjoining at the mouth of Fore River, as may be necessary for the purpose.’ As far as the record shows, this was the first joint stock company formed in the town. Of its history but little is known.”

Further on (p. 155), he adds that, in 1876,—

“N. Porter Keene commenced the construction of vessels in Old Spain, near Hunt’s Hill; and since that time he has built eleven vessels, sail and steam, averaging a cost of about \$40,000 each. There is on the stocks at present [that is, in 1884] a large vessel intended for a four-masted schooner (since launched).”

The shipyard referred to by Mr. Nash was abandoned a few years since; and no traces of it now remain, with the exception of a two-story storehouse or workshop, which not impossibly may stand close to the site originally occupied by Weston’s block house. In all the early records of the town this spot is included in what is known as “the Plain.”

It is matter of regret that Hunt’s Hill, a glacial deposit immediately north of King’s Cove, is being removed to supply material for the filling of the water park of the city of Boston now in course of construction near Castle Island. This hill apparently lay immediately south of the site of the Wessagusset settlement, and between it and King’s Cove, the settlement at the foot of it looking off toward the north. As our investigations seemed to indicate that there can be little if any doubt as to where the original settlement was made and “the pale and houses” stood, it is also matter for regret that the ground in the immediate neighborhood should not be preserved and set aside for public uses, with a proper memorial placed upon it. In view of the fact that here was the first settlement within the original colony of Massachusetts Bay; that here was the spot on which Miles Standish had his momentous conflict with the savages, which settled for half a century the question of European ascendancy in Massachu-

setts; and here also was the point at which the famous Wessagusset hanging, which Butler made such use of in his poem of "Hudibras" did *not* occur,—all combining to make of it a point of interest second to hardly any other this side of Plymouth,—the Legislature of the Commonwealth not impossibly, and the town of Weymouth very probably, might, if the facts were now brought to their notice, be induced to take some action to preserve it; but in any event the subject is one which merits the attention of this Society.

Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES said : —

Whoever carefully examines the traditional site assigned to ancient Wessagusset, upon the elevated plateau north of Phillips Creek, will scarcely fail to have grave doubts arise in his mind in regard to its correctness. None of the essential requisites for the location of a settlement in a wilderness can be found upon that wind-swept, shelterless height, where no source of supply of drinking-water, either from springs or brooks, can be found within any convenient distance. When, besides these *prima facie* objections, one sees that this spot possesses no suitableness for a trading-post, either of outlook or of anchorage, and that there is not the slightest indication visible that it was ever occupied by man as a place of habitation, he can scarcely help feeling that the site must be sought for elsewhere.

With these convictions, the evidence afforded by Governor Winthrop's map lends striking confirmation to the complete adaptedness for the early settlement which Mr. Adams and myself found the locality to possess which we have recently studied at what is now known as King's Cove. Here we saw just the lie of the land which would naturally attract settlers searching for a home in a new country, rising with a gentle slope from a curving beach, in a broad level outstretch of deep soil, well open to the sun upon the east, but sheltered in other directions by higher ground, and having an ample supply of springs of water. Moreover, it was clear, as Mr. Adams has well explained, that this spot possessed all the advantages for a trading-post, which the other lacks.

I feel convinced, accordingly, that tradition has been

somewhat at fault in regard to the ancient locality, and that it is here at King's Cove that we must really place the site of Wessagusset, the oldest settlement upon Massachusetts Bay.

Mr. WILLIAM P. UPHAM spoke of the interest of the Winthrop map, as showing what was the real site of the first settlement at Salem, about which there had recently been some question. The map was in accordance with the conclusions reached by the local antiquaries, who had been inclined to doubt the statements which had come down by tradition.

It was then voted that the suggestion of Mr. Adams for the erection of a permanent memorial of the Wessagusset settlement should be referred to the Council.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH communicated a memoir of Thomas Aspinwall, and said in substance : —

Shortly after the death of our venerable associate, Col. Thomas Aspinwall, the Hon. George S. Hillard, one of the executors of his will, was appointed to write the customary memoir for insertion in the Proceedings. Mr. Hillard's impaired health prevented his performing this duty promptly; and at his death, in 1879, nothing had been done. Accordingly the committee on memoirs which was appointed in the following year designated the late Rev. Dr. Lothrop to prepare the memoir in the place of Mr. Hillard. He readily agreed to do so, if he could obtain the necessary materials; but he failed to find what he wanted, and finally wrote me a humorous letter, intimating that if I would furnish the materials he would write the memoir, otherwise he must relinquish the task. The committee then applied to Mr. Deane, who undertook the work. Unfortunately, however, Colonel Aspinwall's papers, or many of them at least, had been destroyed before his death, and Mr. Deane met with the same difficulty which Dr. Lothrop had experienced. Referring to this matter one day, he said to me, in his pleasant, half-smiling way, "Mr. Smith, I cannot make bricks without straw." He wrote nothing on the subject, and there are no memoranda relating to it among his papers. Recently I have come across some materials which supply in part the want felt by Dr. Lothrop and Mr. Deane; and as three persons to whom this memoir was successively assigned have died, I have thought best, with the concurrence

of Dr. Young, the other surviving member of the committee, to communicate without further delay the memoir herewith submitted.

Mr. Justin Winsor communicated a memoir of Charles Deane ; and Mr. John C. Ropes, memoirs of Francis W. Palfrey and Charles Devens. Dr. Samuel A. Green communicated, in behalf of the Hon. John E. Sanford, who was absent on account of an official engagement, a memoir of Henry M. Dexter.

MEMOIR
OF
COL. THOMAS ASPINWALL, A.M.

BY CHARLES C. SMITH.

THOMAS ASPINWALL was the third son of Dr. William and Susanna [Gardner] Aspinwall, and was born in Brookline; May 23, 1786. His father was a prominent and skilful physician, and became especially noted for his success in the use of inoculation as a preventive of small-pox. His maternal grandfather, Isaac Gardner, of Brookline, was a man of character and influence, and in company with his friend and neighbor, Dr. Aspinwall, left home on hearing of the skirmish at Lexington, April 19, 1775. He was killed at Menotomy (now Arlington) on the retreat of the British troops from Concord.¹ At an early age Thomas was sent to school in his native town, and afterward to Leicester Academy, where he had on graduating, at the age of fifteen, the introductory oration.² In the same year he entered Harvard College, and graduated in 1804, the third scholar in a class of sixty-one members. His Commencement part was the salutatory oration, and Dr. Pierce in his journal records that it "was well written and handsomely

¹ Hudson's History of Lexington, p. 203, note.

² Fifty-four years later, on occasion of the seventy-first anniversary of the Academy, Colonel Aspinwall visited Leicester, and in a short after-dinner speech gave some amusing reminiscences of his school-boy days. "This academy, I believe," he said, "is the only endowed seminary in the Commonwealth which is favored with the privilege of including the fair sex in the number of its pupils; and in my day it had become an established custom for the young ladies and gentlemen to pair off in long and solemn procession to a shady retreat, called the Lovers' Bower. To be admitted into these excursions I coveted with an intensity of longing that ought to have been rewarded with consent. But, unhappily, I was young. The ladies coolly looked down upon me, as one not yet come to years of discretion, and were inexorable; the gentlemen, in the spirit that wishes 'no brother near the throne,' rigorously excluded all little ones weaker than themselves." — *Festival at Leicester Academy*, pp. 62, 63.





The Aspirin way



performed.”¹ Three years afterward he took his Master's degree, and delivered the Latin valedictory, which we learn from the same authority “was a truly masterly performance. It was short, yet glanced upon every pertinent and interesting topic.”²

Meanwhile he had studied law with the Hon. William Sullivan, with whom he was for a short time a partner. Subsequently he opened an office in his own name, and continued in practice until the breaking out of the War of 1812. He then gave up his profession, and tendering his services to the government, with the advantage of some experience as Adjutant of the Independent Cadets, he was at once appointed Major of the Ninth Regiment of United States Infantry. This regiment, which was mainly recruited in Massachusetts, was ordered to the northern frontier, and there served with great credit. In the repulse of the British attack on Sackett's Harbor, in May, 1813, Major Aspinwall especially distinguished himself, and for his gallantry in action was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel, and afterward made Colonel. Through the campaign he was frequently in command of the brigade to which his regiment was attached; and in the memorable sortie from Fort Erie, Sept. 17, 1814, he was so severely wounded in the left arm as to render its amputation necessary. In a letter to his father written two weeks afterward, he said: “The General at last, just as a heavy shower of rain had ceased, ordered us to march. We started immediately, and passed through the wood, driving in their sharpshooters, sentries, and guards, until I had arrived within twenty paces of their breastworks, where as I was passing along the front of the first platoon to give it a concerted direction to the right, I received a musket-shot above the elbow of the left arm, which completely carried away about an inch and a half of the bone. I, of course, had no further part in the active duty of that day, which terminated in our complete success, except as to one of their four batteries.” And in conclusion he wrote: “After being wounded I walked back to my tent, and in about an hour had only one arm, — a circumstance which does not afflict me, my dear father, and must not you. But let us both thank God that he has so formed us that you have lived almost all your life happy and respectable, notwithstanding the loss of

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 169.

² Ibid. p. 172.

an eye; and I may spend the remainder of my life in the same manner with the loss of a limb, of all the most conveniently spared. I have been so blessed hitherto that it would be the deepest sin to murmur against this dispensation of Providence."¹ On the reduction of the army after the peace he was offered an important position in the regular establishment; but he preferred to enter the civil service, and in May, 1815, during the recess of Congress, he was appointed Consul at London by President Madison. The appointment was confirmed at the beginning of the next session;² and Colonel Aspinwall continued to hold the office until he was removed in the summer of 1853 by President Pierce,—a victim to that pestilential doctrine which sacrifices the interests of the country to the needs of a political party. It is a striking coincidence that that doctrine was first formally enunciated by a statesman who was also for a short time a student at Leicester Academy, and who was Secretary of State at the time of Colonel Aspinwall's removal.³

Colonel Aspinwall had discharged the duties of his office in a manner honorable to himself and useful to his country; and he sorely felt his removal, to which he referred even in his last will executed many years afterward. Before leaving London a service of plate was presented to him, with a letter signed by Baring Brothers & Co., George Peabody, N. M. Rothschild & Sons, and more than thirty other firms or individuals, who had been in a position to recognize his fidelity in office and his high personal character. In their letter, dated December, 1853, they say: "We avail ourselves of the occasion to tender you our best thanks for your uniform courtesy and kindness in all our intercourse with you during the long period in which you have filled the important post of Consul-General in this city. You have administered the arduous duties of your office with dignity, ability, and integrity, unimpeached;

¹ History of Norfolk County, p. 865.

² Niles's Register, vol. ix. p. 371.

³ "In 1802 four young men came here from Sturbridge to fit for college. Their names were William L. Marcy, Jacob Corey, Josiah J. Fiske, and Benjamin Rice. . . . Marcy was a Jeffersonian boy, and on one Fourth of July indulged in a speech to his fellow-students which drew upon him a reprimand from his teacher. His high spirit would not brook the indignity; and the four boys left Leicester for Woodstock Academy, then just established. Thence in due time they entered Brown University, where they all graduated in 1808." — *Leicester Academy Centenary*, p. 31.

you have lent a willing and patient attention to appeals for relief, in all cases of distress, granting freely your counsel and your money, inviting others to aid you when needful." Not only did he devote himself most sedulously to the ordinary routine of his official duties, and attach to himself a large circle of friends distinguished in social and public life; but he took an interest in everything which could promote more intimate and friendly relations between Great Britain and the United States. On its organization he was made a director in the British and American Steam Navigation Company, — one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of the transatlantic steamship companies, which was established so long ago as October, 1836. The company built the steamers "British Queen" and "President," the last of which was never heard of after leaving New York, in March, 1841, on her return passage to Liverpool. Her loss proved fatal to the company, which was dissolved not long afterward. Colonel Aspinwall also made all the arrangements for the publication of the English editions of Mr. Prescott's "History of Ferdinand and Isabella," and other works by the same author. In a letter from Dresden, Feb. 8, 1836, to Mr. Prescott, Mr. Ticknor wrote, with reference to this matter: "I remain by the suggestion in my last letter, that Colonel Aspinwall is the man to take charge of it, provided neither you nor I should be in London; although if both of us were on the spot, he would be the man with whom we should earliest advise in all publishing arrangements. His place as our Consul-General in London is something in talking to publishers. His character, prompt, business-like, firm, and honorable, is still more." And in his *Life of Prescott* Mr. Ticknor adds that Colonel Aspinwall "at once undertook in the pleasantest manner the pleasant commission which was offered him, and a mutual regard was the consequence of the connection then formed, which was never afterwards broken or impaired; so much was there in common between the characters of the two high-minded and cultivated men."¹ At an earlier period than this Colonel Aspinwall had rendered similar services to Washington Irving and to others, as he continued to do long afterward. Irving's correspondence in his "Life and Letters" contains repeated references to the negotiations in his behalf

¹ Ticknor's *Life of Prescott*, p. 108.

carried on by Colonel Aspinwall; and in his remarks before this Society after the death of Irving, Colonel Aspinwall himself said: "Such of the works of Washington Irving as were written out of England after 1824 were confided to my disposal, and published under contracts made by me as his agent."¹

While resident in England, Colonel Aspinwall was elected, in June, 1833, a Corresponding Member of the Historical Society; and a few years later he became a member of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen. After his return he was elected, in April, 1855, a Resident Member of the Historical Society. He at once took an active and efficient part in the work of the Society. From 1857 to 1859 he was a member of the Standing Committee, and again from 1860 to 1862. From the latter year to 1870 he was one of the Vice-Presidents. He served also on the Committees for publishing the fourth, ninth, and tenth volumes of the Fourth Series of Collections. The last two volumes were made up of original papers from the very rich collection gathered by him in London. His editorial labors were performed under great difficulties, from the loss of his arm, and when he was in his eighty-fifth year; but to the papers relating to Virginia he added long and elaborate notes, discussing many of the obscure points in the early history of Virginia. The papers there printed, and many of the rarest volumes obtained by Colonel Aspinwall during his long residence abroad, afterward passed into the possession of the late Samuel L. M. Barlow, of New York.²

Among the most important of his communications to the Society were his remarks on the death of Washington Irving, at the meeting in December, 1859; on the death of the Hon. William Appleton, at the meeting in March, 1862; on the death of Gen. Winfield Scott, at the meeting in June, 1866; and in the following January, on the gift to the Society of the Peabody Fund. At the meeting in May, 1860, he communicated some remarks on the Narragansett Patent of Dec. 10, 1643, tending to show that it was never completed. A year or two afterward a contemporaneous copy of the same docu-

¹ Proceedings, vol. iv. p. 406.

² For an account of the Aspinwall-Barlow Library, by Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, see 2 Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 318-320.

ment was found among the Winthrop Papers; and at the meeting in February, 1862, Mr. Deane read a short and very able paper taking the opposite ground. A few months later — in June, 1862 — Colonel Aspinwall communicated a long and elaborate reply to Mr. Deane's strictures, reaffirming the opinion previously expressed by him, and bringing forward new arguments against the validity of the Patent. This communication was separately printed, with a few prefatory remarks; and a second edition was published at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1865. In March, 1863, Colonel Aspinwall communicated another paper, also of a controversial character, and marked by great ability, in which he maintained that William Vassall, one of the Assistants named in the Colony Charter, was "no Factionist."

He continued in the mean time to take an active interest in the commercial prosperity of Boston. In 1857 he was chosen a Director of the Boston Board of Trade, and for the next two years he was one of the Vice-Presidents. He was chairman of a committee to consider how greater facility of transatlantic intercourse could be secured by means of a railroad through the British Maritime Provinces. But his increasing years soon afterward led him to withdraw from active participation in business affairs, and to devote himself more to his books and his friends.

Colonel Aspinwall retained his physical and intellectual powers unimpaired until about three years before his death, when he had a severe attack of paralysis. From this he never recovered. "He might still be seen, even to the last week of his life," said the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in announcing his death at the meeting of this Society, "taking his occasional exercise, and threading his way along our crowded sidewalks with a sturdy step and something of the old martial air, but recognizing no one out of his own family, and remembering little or nothing of matters or things, either recent or remote."² He died in Boston, August 11, 1876, in his ninety-first year, and was buried in the Walnut Hill Cemetery in his native town.

He was married at Lancaster, Feb. 13, 1814, to Louise Elizabeth Poignand, who, as the name indicates, was of French descent, both of her parents having been born in the island of

¹ Proceedings, vol. xv. pp. 2, 8.

Jersey.¹ By this marriage he had seven children, of whom only two, with their mother, were living at his death. In personal appearance he was noticeably erect and dignified, with a military bearing even in old age; and in the photographic group of members taken at Brookline in 1869 he is one of the most conspicuous figures. He was a man of strong and settled convictions, which he expressed with clearness and force. He had great knowledge of men, and his knowledge of books was extensive and accurate. In the investigation of historical questions he was thorough and careful, and on the history of the discovery and colonization of America he was a recognized authority. The remarks of our late associate Mr. William Amory before the Wednesday Evening Club will find a ready response from all who knew Colonel Aspinwall as a member of this Society: "Every one remembers his erect, fine person, his handsome face, his manly bearing, his aristocratic air, the dignity and urbanity of his manners, the genuine cordiality and kindness of his heart, the intelligence and cultivation of his mind, his uncomplaining fortitude in struggling with disease and the infirmities of age, and at last his humble resignation and submission to the Divine Will."²

¹ Nourse's Lancaster Records, pp. 169, 486.

² Centennial Celebration of the Wednesday Evening Club, p. 97. Colonel Aspinwall was elected a member of the Club in 1856, so that his membership in it covered a period of twenty years.





J. W. Palmer

J. W. Palmer

MEMOIR
OF
FRANCIS WINTHROP PALFREY, A.M.

BY JOHN C. ROPES.

FRANCIS WINTHROP PALFREY was born in Boston on April 11, 1831. He was the second son of John Gorham Palfrey, D.D., LL.D., well known as the historian of New England, and of Mary Ann (Hammond) Palfrey, his wife. His great-grandfather was Col. William Palfrey, aide-de-camp to General Washington, Paymaster-General of the army in the Revolution, and appointed, in 1780, by the unanimous vote of Congress, Consul-General of the United States in France.

He was educated mainly at the Boston Latin School, and entered Harvard College in 1847, where he graduated with high rank in 1851. He studied law partly in the Harvard Law School, where he received the degree of LL.B. in 1853, and partly in the office of the late George S. Hillard, and was admitted to the bar in September, 1854. He practised law in Boston till the breaking out of the war.

He was one of the first to tender his services to the Government, and served as Second Lieutenant in the Fourth Battalion of the Massachusetts Volunteer Militia in April, 1861. When the Twentieth Regiment was formed under the lead of Col. William Raymond Lee, Palfrey was commissioned its Lieutenant-Colonel; and he left the State with this gallant command early in September of the same year.

He was not with those companies of his regiment which crossed the Potomac on the 21st of October, and took an honorable part in the obstinately fought but unfortunate battle of Ball's Bluff; but the capture by the enemy of Colonel Lee and Major Revere left him the only field-officer of the battalion, and necessarily imposed upon him an unusual amount

of care and responsibility. The exceptional duties arising from this state of affairs he continued to perform to the entire satisfaction of his command until the spring of the next year, when Lee, having been exchanged, as were the others, resumed control.

Palfrey shared with his regiment the hardships and dangers of the Peninsular Campaign. He was at the siege of Yorktown, the battle of Fair Oaks, the series of actions known as the Seven Days' Battles, commencing for the regiment with Peach Orchard, and terminating with Malvern Hill. In all these engagements the Twentieth Regiment distinguished itself, among many fine organizations, for its steadiness, bravery, and discipline; and Palfrey showed himself a gallant and skilful officer. He commanded the regiment for some hours in the bloody action at Nelson's Farm, — Colonel Lee having been intrusted with the charge of a part of the brigade, — and he handled his men with entire success.

In the terrible battle of Antietam, on the 17th of September, 1862, the Twentieth, under command of Colonel Lee, was in the hottest of the action. It formed a part of Dana's Brigade of Sedgwick's Division of Sumner's (Second) Corps. This division — as fine a body of troops as there was in the army — was advanced under the personal direction of Sumner himself, with the expectation that it would bear down everything before it. Unfortunately, the gallant veteran neglected the usual precautions, and exposed the left flank of his command to an enemy who were always prompt to make the most of every blunder of their adversaries. The three brigades composing the division, soon after entering the enemy's woods, were subjected to a withering flank fire, and in spite of all efforts to change front and meet this unexpected foe, were thrown into disorder and very roughly handled. Sedgwick, who commanded the division, and Dana, who commanded the brigade, were both wounded. The Twentieth suffered severely. Palfrey, Holmes, Hallowell, and other officers were struck down. Palfrey, in fact, remained in the enemy's lines until they fell back on the 19th across the Potomac. He was very badly hurt. His left arm was shattered by a canister shot, and more than one operation had to be resorted to. His arm was saved, but his health never recovered from this serious shock. Nor was he ever able to resume his post in the

field, although on Dec. 18, 1862, when Lee's health compelled him to leave the service, Palfrey was commissioned Colonel of the regiment. The Government recognized his desert by granting to him the brevet rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers for gallant conduct at the battle of Antietam and for meritorious services during the war, to date from March 13, 1865.

Although General Palfrey's military career entailed much suffering upon him, and undoubtedly impaired his health and shortened his days, yet those who knew him well know that it was to him by far the most interesting and indispensable (if I may use the word in this connection) part of his life. He was proud of having trodden in the footsteps of his Revolutionary ancestor. A member of the Society of the Cincinnati himself by virtue of this descent, he was glad that in a like emergency he had taken his place in the armies of his country, and had unhesitatingly stepped forward into the thickest of the fight. He prized this part of his life dearly, and he was right in so doing. He, who as a young man before the war had been among the gayest and the most active in every social diversion, took no little satisfaction in the recollection that he had given himself as unreservedly to the hardships and the perils of a soldier's life as any man could do.

As an officer, Colonel Palfrey was most conscientious and careful in the discharge of his manifold duties. He was by nature a very just man, and he was a strict, though not a severe, disciplinarian. He was devoted to the regiment, — to its welfare, its interests, its attainments, its performance of duty. Always loyal to the gallant veteran who first inspired this stanch and steady command with the true soldiery aims and spirit, he faithfully carried out in his administration of the regiment the fine and lofty conception of military duty which all rightly felt was given by Colonel Lee. Palfrey was a brave, capable, and successful officer. He held, to be sure, no high command. The services of a regimental field-officer, even if he command the regiment, — which Palfrey did not, except for a brief period on one occasion, as has been noticed above, — rarely are conspicuous; but his were faithful and gallant services, rendered to his country from the highest motives, and crowned with an honorable wound.

His interest in the fortunes of his old command and in its

officers and men suffered no abatement by reason of his enforced withdrawal from active connection with it. It was to him that all his comrades went for encouragement and sympathy when they came home on leave; it was to his office that the needy soldier naturally turned for help and assistance. It was largely to him that the association of the officers of the regiment owed its existence, and that the funds were raised for a commemorative monument.

Nor did his interest stop here. It was he who wrote the admirable sketch of the life and services of Major Henry Livermore Abbott of the Twentieth Regiment, who fell at the battle of the Wilderness, May 6, 1864; and it is also to his pen that we owe one of the best, if not the best, military memoir that the war has added to our literature, — that of Gen. William Francis Bartlett, once a Captain in the Twentieth, published in 1878.

General Palfrey took a strong interest in the militia, and he realized fully how important it was that the veterans of the Civil War should vigorously apply themselves to the task of raising its standard of efficiency. His great-grandfather had been a private in the Boston Cadets, and with this ancient and famous corps General Palfrey associated himself. On Dec. 27, 1870, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel commanding the First Company of Cadets, as the organization was then called. This post he held till July 28, 1873, when he resigned on account of his health. During this comparatively brief period he did much to improve the discipline and efficiency of the corps.

As a young man at school and college, he had shown great zeal and aptitude in all his studies. His desire for knowledge was great; his determination to acquire mental strength and discipline was even greater. He was endowed by nature with vigorous health, with great energy and vitality. He mastered without difficulty the usual studies, taking high rank in all, or nearly all; but to Greek he especially devoted himself, and he kept up an intimate acquaintance with this language to the end of his life. He was always a scholarly man.

In later life he was naturally drawn to a study of military events, and specially to those in which he had himself participated. He devoted not a little time to the art of war and to military history. He wrote, in 1882, one of the most valuable

of the series of books on the Civil War, published by the Scribners, — that on Antietam and Fredericksburg. He contributed for the Military Historical Society of Massachusetts, of which he was for some years president, several very important papers on the Peninsular Campaign and the battle of Antietam. He wrote the article on the work of the city of Boston in the war, in the "Memorial History of Boston," — an article in which he did not hesitate to state some unpalatable facts. In truth, he was never able to play fast and loose with facts. He had a stern and high standard of veracity, and a strong and clear conscience. All his historical work, therefore, was faithfully and honestly done. His statements can be thoroughly relied upon. His treatment of a subject was always adequate and effective. His style was that of a cultivated man and practised writer, — lucid, elegant, attractive ; and there are in all his works many passages of striking force.

In the case of but few of the survivors of the war did its harsh experiences effect such a complete and permanent change in the whole attitude and conduct of life as in the case of the subject of this memoir. From a state of high health and vigor, where body and mind alike demanded and enjoyed active exertion and strenuous effort, Palfrey found himself relegated to the ranks of the infirm. He who had been among the foremost in work and play was now obliged to husband his resources, and to combat pain and weakness. Nor did time bring any relief to him. From the terrible day of Antietam his life was a long struggle against ill health. But it was manfully kept up to the very last. Though he was never strong, he practised law for years after the war. Toward the end he gave it up ; he could no longer bear the exertion. He was obliged from time to time to fly to foreign countries for rest and change of air and scene ; and his literary occupations, which he would so gladly have made regular and consecutive, were sadly interfered with by increasing infirmity. He did, however, some excellent work on his father's "History of New England" ; and the fifth volume is edited by him. We in this Society have good cause to regret these hindrances to our associate's activities, for otherwise one may be sure that he would have made many a valuable contribution to our papers.

General Palfrey was a man of many friends. He was, perhaps, not an easy person to approach for those who did not

know him well ; but he was greatly valued and trusted by those whom he had taken into his confidence, and their attachment to him was of the strongest and warmest.

He died at Cannes, France, after a long illness, on Dec. 5, 1889. He left a wife, Louisa Caroline, daughter of the late Sidney Bartlett, to whom he was married on March 29, 1865, and three daughters.

MEMOIR
OF
CHARLES DEANE, LL.D.¹

BY JUSTIN WINSOR.

IN February, 1865, just after he had retired from business and when he was fifty-two years old, Mr. Deane wrote a brief sketch of the earlier part of his life, and brought the narrative down to a time when he had already formed those acquaintances which caused a good part of the enjoyments attending his less active but riper years. With this acquaintance broadening year by year and bringing within his sympathies and interests many of the foremost historical scholars of his day, he began to cultivate habits already formed of epistolary intercourse; and as his fame as an exact student of American history grew, he was more and more sought for his opinions and counsel on historical questions. This as well as his friendships fostered a taste for correspondence; and the large mass of letters, full of discussion and inquiry concerning points and phases of our history, which he left behind him, would afford matter for an interesting biography far more extensive than it is customary to insert in the Proceedings of our Society. To round out the proportions of this life, so richly endowed in all that interests the lover of American history, one would have also to go through his abundant and extraordinary library of nearly thirteen thousand volumes to find the minutes of his researches which he scattered so plentifully on fly-leaves and margins, and to discover the letters, memoranda, and scraps which he had laid between the leaves of his books. He rarely kept a perfect copy of his own letters, and made no use of press-

¹ The engraving accompanying this memoir follows a photograph taken in Toronto in May, 1875.

copying appliances, and the biographer would have to recover his letters from his correspondents. But he often preserved his first drafts and the notes upon which his letters were based, and they will be found in his books or laid within the folds of the letters he received. I should judge that he rarely destroyed a letter ; and the files which bear the names of C. F. Adams, Isaac Arnold, George Bancroft, John Russell Bartlett, J. Carson Brevoort, George Brinley, John Carter Brown, Richard H. Dana, Henry B. Dawson, Henry M. Dexter, Samuel G. Drake, Edward Everett, Charles Folsom, Peter Force, Richard Frothingham, William Gammel, George W. Greene, H. B. Grigsby, Samuel F. Haven, Joseph Hunter, J. G. Kohl, James Lenox, George Livermore, H. W. Longfellow, Samuel K. Lothrop, J. R. Lowell, W. P. Lunt, R. H. Major, Brantz Mayer, J. L. Motley, J. G. Palfrey, Joel Parker, Theophilus Parsons, Josiah Quincy, Chandler Robbins, Lorenzo Sabine, Stephen Salisbury, James Savage, N. B. Shurtleff, Jared Sparks, Henry Stevens, George Ticknor, John Waddington, Emory Washburn, William Willis, Leonard Woods, Thomas H. Wynne, — to say nothing of those among the living, — testify to the faithfulness of mutual intercourse. All this material must be left for some one who may be prompted to be the biographer of one who held hardly a second place to any among us, as a historical student, as distinct from those historical writers who have associated their names with prolonged works. For the present purpose there will be enough ground to cover, if the story of his life be confined in the main to the printed memorials of its literary activity.

But in the first place we may learn from the brief autobiographic fragment already referred to, the significance of his earlier years. He says : —

“I was born in Biddeford, in the State of Maine, on the Saco River, Nov. 10, 1813. My father, Dr. Ezra Deane, was descended from Walter Deane, who with his brother John came from Chard, near Taunton in England, and settled in Taunton, Massachusetts, then in Plymouth Colony. My father was born in Connecticut, and after getting his profession of a physician, he removed to Maine, and lived in different places before he settled in Biddeford. There his first wife died. She was a daughter of the Rev. Paul Coffin, S.T.D., of Buxton, Maine. My father afterwards married a daughter (my mother) of the Rev. Silas Moody, of Arundel, now Kennebunkport. When old enough I

went to the public school at Biddeford. For a few quarters I went to the Saco Academy. I also attended a classical school kept by Phineas Pratt, formerly preceptor of the academy. [There was thought at this time of sending him to Bowdoin College, where an elder brother was at this time the classmate of Longfellow.] When not yet sixteen years of age I went to Kennebunkport to live with my mother's brother, Silas Moody, who kept there a shop, with such variety of merchandise as is usual in 'Country Stores.' It was my duty to open the store in the morning, sweep it out, make the fire when needed, and attend on customers, as I was able. The preaching on Sunday was during my stay there a-part of the time at the old meeting-house where my grandfather once preached, and a part of the time at the meeting-house in the village. They were two miles apart. The preaching was orthodox, and my uncle and aunts were of that persuasion. I remained in Kennebunkport about a year and a half, and then I went into the store of Mr. Joseph M. Hayes, of Saco (on Cutts or Factory Island). I was expected to sleep in the store with the older clerk, and to take my meals at Mr. Hayes's house very near the store. I had duties to perform similar to those in my uncle's store, but I had harder work. Saco was a flourishing place, and the York Company's establishment there gave us a good deal of business. I had the privilege of spending Sundays at my father's house and of going to church with the family. I served Mr. Hayes two years, and with letters of introduction from my employer, I visited Boston and New York, in the spring of 1833, with a view to finding a situation. I had a letter to Messrs. Waterston, Pray, & Co. of Boston, into whose employ I finally agreed to go; and entered their store, August 23, 1833, as a salesman. I was then over nineteen years of age. My situation was a pleasant one, and I believe I commended myself to my employers. My agreement for salary was two hundred dollars a year until I should be twenty-one. On arriving at that age I agreed again with them for three years. In 1840 I was advertised a partner in the house of Waterston, Pray, & Co., and the next year was married to Helen, Mr. Waterston's eldest daughter. We went to live in a small but pretty house in Edinboro' Street, Boston, which I had bought.

"Soon after I married I began to add to my slender stock of books. I date my love and taste for books and reading, in American history especially, from a summer spent in 1843 at Hingham. I found I did not know the distinction between the Old Colony and the Massachusetts Colony, and I desired to inform myself; and soon after I began reading about our early history. I found at Burnham's book-shop a copy of Morton's 'New England's Memorial,' edition of 1721. I bought it and read it. I also bought Young's 'Chronicles of the Pilgrims,' which was published a few years before (1841). I also

read Allen's 'American Biography,' the first edition, 1806. I soon after became acquainted with Dr. Alexander Young and Edward A. Crowninshield, who were much interested in these early books, and their acquaintance gave me new zest for the buying of books. I also became acquainted with Mr. Henry Stevens of Vermont, who soon afterwards went to London, where he has acted as agent for American book-buyers. He has sent me a great many volumes, though few compared with what he has sent to other purchasers, like Mr. Brown of Providence, and Mr. Lenox of New York. My acquaintance also with my friend George Livermore has formed a pleasant circumstance in my life. He has [1865] a real taste for books, but he does not collect precisely in my line. He is interested, however, in literature generally. Dr. Young was also a genuine lover of books. In 1846 I wrote an article in the 'Evening Transcript' on the Pilgrims. It was a notice, I think, of a paper by George Sumner in the 'Massachusetts Historical Collections,' and of another in the 'Christian Examiner.' In that article I spoke favorably of Dr. Young's 'Chronicles of the Pilgrims.' Dr. Young spoke to me about my article, which he appeared to like; and upon that our acquaintance was formed. He soon after published his 'Chronicles of Massachusetts,' and asked me to write a notice of it. I bought a copy of the book, and wrote a notice of two columns in the 'Boston Courier.' It was not a discriminating critique. I was probably not capable of writing one, though I did criticise the Doctor's position in calling Winthrop the first governor of Massachusetts, and contended that Endicott was entitled to that honor. In a few years (1849) I was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, nominated by Dr. Young. Mr. Livermore was elected at the following meeting.

"Before becoming so much interested in New England history, I had been a good deal occupied with the study of mental philosophy, or that part of it which relates to the freedom of the will, and I had bought and read a good many books on the subject. I had felt deeply that the necessitarians had the best of the arguments. I used as I had the opportunity to converse with my father on these themes. He was a believer in philosophical necessity.

"I wrote occasionally for the newspapers, and intended to preserve such communications for future reference, and indeed have for the most part done so.¹

¹ These early newspaper articles by Mr. Deane are all preserved, as well as later ones, in a scrap-book which he kept for this purpose. The earliest seems to be a paper on the heirs of Miles Standish, published March 31, 1846. The article occasioned by George Sumner's contribution was printed May 16; that in the "Courier" on Dr. Young's book was July 8. Just after this he made a trip to Plymouth, and saw for the first time the localities which were to be in the future of so much attraction to him. He chronicles this excursion in a paper printed August 11.

"For the past ten years (now February, 1865) I have had considerable to do in connection with the volumes of the Historical Society."

Here the brief sketch ends.

Mr. Deane's business career was a successful one ; and when he left his mercantile connections, he did so with the satisfaction of having passed through his commercial experience with credit and an untarnished name. He privately printed in 1869 a brief memoir of his father-in-law, under whose eye he had made the advances in his business life. Reverting to the career of his senior partners, he said : "In 1814 Messrs. Waterston & Pray established themselves in Boston ; and the firm, under that name and under the style of Waterston, Pray, & Co., and subsequently under that of Waterston, Deane, & Co., were for many years well known throughout the country, first as importers of dry-goods, and afterwards as commission merchants for the sale of domestic goods." Mr. Waterston, who had emigrated from Scotland in 1806, retired from active business in 1857, then in his eightieth year, leaving the burden of seniority in the house upon his son-in-law, till the latter's final retirement in 1864. Fortune and felicity in affairs naturally pointed him out for fiduciary offices ; and our late associate, the Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, who sat for many years with him at the directors' board of one of the oldest insurance companies in Boston, bore testimony, at the meeting of this Society which was held to take notice of Mr. Deane's death, to his great practical wisdom and keen discrimination in business questions, and to the unswerving integrity and unsullied character which were recognized by all who came in contact with him.

Mr. Deane's studies early made him familiar with the aspects of those beginnings of our American history which are associated with the banks of the James, in Virginia, and imparted also so much of interest to the diversified shores of New England ; and his love of this history never ceased. It is not easy to say whether, in the estimation of scholars, he identified himself more with the problems of the opening years of the Plymouth than of the Virginia Colony. He naturally turned in the first instance to the oldest of the New England settlements ; and the scrap-book which contains his early newspaper

communications shows a great preponderance of interest in the Pilgrim story.

Judge Davis's edition of Morton's "Memorial" had been one of the books to interest Mr. Deane in the earliest years of his historical study, and he was an eager attendant upon the sale of the library which that editor had gathered. It was at this sale, in 1847, that he became the possessor of a fragment of the original manuscript of Prince's "Annals," which contained some passages which that author had omitted in the printed book, and through which he had run his pen. The interest in the Pilgrim history which had been raised in Mr. Deane a few years before, when he was first introduced to the story of the founders of New Plymouth by perusing Dr. Young's "Chronicles of the Pilgrims," led him to understand at once the significance of the initial B, which Prince set against such passages as had been taken from the then lost manuscript history of the Colony by Governor Bradford; and eager to help restore as much as possible the text of that narrative, and to eke out what had already been done in this way by Dr. Young from other sources, he soon communicated to the April number (1848) of the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" two paragraphs from that fragmentary manuscript which Prince had cancelled, and which had been copied from Bradford. They presented two heretofore unknown incidents of the memorable voyage of the "Mayflower." One was the hurling into the sea by a lurch of the ship of John Howland, one of the passengers, and his being saved by catching hold of the top-sail halliards, fortunately floating on the water at the time; and the other was the burial at sea of one of the seamen. The last incident afforded Mr. Deane the text, that a mind of such scrupulous accuracy as his found to have a ready application. The statement that one "passenger" had died on the voyage had easily been made, with ordinary writers, to mean that but a single life was lost; and Mr. Deane threw out a pointed reference to the danger of such hasty inferences. The incidents are both so striking that one can only account for the failure of Judge Davis to note them in his edition of Morton by supposing that he could never have read the fragment, which had now passed under the scrutiny of younger if not more active eyes. Mr. Drake, the editor of the "Register," in introducing Mr. Deane's com-

munication, as from one "who is very curious in all matters relating to the beginning of New England," goes on to say that this little recovery of a paragraph or two of the Bradford history only shows that the recovery of the long-lost manuscript was still to be desired, after all that had been done in the endeavors to restore it. He and Mr. Deane had no suspicion that the clew to such a discovery already existed.¹

The next number of the same periodical gives us the earliest example which we have of Mr. Deane's method of annotating historical documents. Its editor, Mr. Drake, possessed an original letter addressed, in February, 1631-32, to Governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts Bay, by Governor Bradford and other leading men of the little colony at New Plymouth. This document is, perhaps, the most interesting for its group of signatures, showing, besides Bradford's, those of Alden, Standish, Fuller, and Prence, which we associate with the Pilgrim history, and is now in the cabinet of our associate, Judge Chamberlain. It was submitted by Mr. Drake to his new contributor, and was printed in the July number (1848) with his annotations. He had already divined the meaning of some of the significant passages in the intercourse of the two Colonies, and with a caution which characterized him through all his critical studies, he simply said that "it has sometimes been urged that the early Colony of Massachusetts was not so scrupulously regardful of the rights of her weaker neighbors as a more enlightened and liberal policy would seem to demand." In one of these notes he gives his testimony to the laborers already distinguished in this field, to "the labors of Davis, Baylies, Young, and others, who have brought their united gifts of learning, diligence, and zeal to this work; but the field," he adds, "is not yet exhausted. Mr. Secretary Morton," he continues, "would have deserved better of posterity had he edited and published his uncle's [Governor Bradford's] writings, and others which he had in his possession, instead of compiling his 'Memorial' from them. However much we may regret that the author had not been more minute, [the 'Memorial'] is a work which will never be superseded." He then urges that one—it is suspected he meant Dr. Young—would undertake a new edition of the "Memorial," adding from later stores to the already rich anno-

¹ Mr. Deane made some remarks on this recovered bit of Bradford in our Proceedings, April, 1879.

tations of Judge Davis. But there were developments soon to be manifest that would drive all such wishes from his mind.

There had up to this time been no clew to the region of English soil which had nursed the infant church of that body of Separatists who after their sojourn in Holland came as pilgrims to the New World. Mr. Savage had drawn the attention of Mr. Joseph Hunter, a well-known English antiquary, to this problem in 1842; and it was at that time apparent that the truth was within reach. Every student of the Pilgrim history was electrified when, in 1849, Mr. Hunter announced that he had removed the obscurity. Cotton Mather had given the place of Bradford's birth as Austerfield, but there was no such place in the British gazetteers. Hunter, in a tract, "The Founders of New Plymouth," which he published in 1849, found a record of the birth of Bradford at Austerfield; and he set forth much else respecting the relations of Scrooby and Austerfield to a little knot of Separatists, gathered thereabouts, of whom Brewster and Bradford were the principal in interest.

Presently Judge Davis's estate was to yield another surprise. The earliest patent which the Pilgrims enjoyed, that of June 1, 1621, had so far passed out of sight when Dr. Young was engaged in his studies of the Pilgrims, that he could not anywhere find it. Davis had noted its discovery early in the century in the Land Office in Boston, and it was now found among some papers which had once belonged to him. Mr. Deane procured a transcript of the document, and prefacing it with an explanatory note, he printed it in the second volume of the fourth series of Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1854, of which Society he had been at this time a member for five years. He also made this little reprint the first of the numerous separate reprints which from time to time he made of the papers which he contributed to serial publications.

The little book also marks a stage in the history of American printing, for he caused four copies of it to be struck off on vellum, — the earliest instance of book printing on that material in the United States; and he caused also a single copy to be printed on old paper. Besides the vellum copy which he kept for himself, he gave one copy to Mr. James Lenox, of New York, with whom, as long as this gentleman lived, Mr. Deane maintained a correspondence on bibliographical questions.

Another he gave to his friend Edward A. Crowninshield, who was allied to Mr. Deane by sympathies that made them both enthusiasts in the collecting of books. This copy was last sold at the Menzies sale, for \$51, and is the only one of the four which has come upon the market. The fourth copy was given by him to perhaps the dearest of his friends, whose companionship was made close by the relations of neighbor, and whose character and studies peculiarly commended themselves to him, — George Livermore.

Mr. Deane had hardly placed this bibliographical enterprise to his own credit, when another event characterized the same year (1855), and served to place his name at once among the chief authorities on Pilgrim history. The story of the losing and finding of the Bradford manuscript has already been told by the present writer in the Proceedings of this Society, Nov. 10, 1881. That paper was written in close communion with Mr. Deane, and with dependence in part upon papers lodged with him by the two contestants for the honor of the recognition. To make the story on this occasion brief, it is enough to say that the history of Plymouth Plantation by Governor Bradford had not been traced by American students since it disappeared about the time of the outbreak of the American Revolution. By some means, not apparent, it had found its way into the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham Palace. Here during the preceding fifteen or twenty years it had been seen and read by two persons studying the history of Episcopacy in America, and they had each used and referred to it in their publications. These were the Bishop of Oxford, who in his "Protestant Episcopal Church in America," published in 1844, had cited it as a "Manuscript History of the Plantation at Plymouth," and the Rev. J. S. M. Anderson, who in his "History of the Colonial Church," published in 1848, had explicitly referred to it as written by Governor Bradford and as having been used by Prince. In a most surprising way these citations had escaped the attention of every one especially interested in Pilgrim history, till the late Mr. John Wingate Thornton noted the reference in the Bishop of Oxford's book, and was so struck with the chance it afforded of a clew to new material, that he brought it to the notice of the Rev. John S. Barry. This gentleman, then at work on his history of Massachusetts, had a more immediate

incentive to study the citations, and soon discovered that if the manuscript was not Bradford's — Anderson's book was not yet in evidence — it must be a part of it, or in whole or in part a copy of it. Mr. Barry had already had much occasion to consult with Mr. Deane during the progress of his history; and in the first volume of it, then in press, he had said of him. that "few were more conversant with the early history of Massachusetts," and had spoken of "his well-stored library as a treasure of rare works on American history." To no one then could the fortunate identifier of the extracts which Bishop Wilberforce gave go with a surer chance of reciprocated delight than to Mr. Deane; and Mr. Barry found him in a ready frame of receptivity and eager with suggestions. Mr. Deane looked over the evidence as Mr. Barry presented it, and could but agree with his friend's conclusions. He had just been designated by the Historical Society to make up and edit a volume of their Collections, and was already contemplating a study of Pilgrim history for it, in a collection of Winslow Papers, when he saw a better chance in the editing of the manuscript of Bradford if their hopes were realized. Mr. Hunter's discoveries respecting the English part of the Pilgrim field had already made him and Mr. Deane correspondents, and it happened that Mr. Deane just at this moment was preparing to write to this new epistolary acquaintance. It was a resolution easily grasped to make this new suspicion the subject of his letter to Mr. Hunter, and to solicit his mediation with the Bishop of London in order to establish the fact. To lose no time, he authorized Mr. Hunter to secure a careful transcript, if the manuscript proved to be Bradford's; and to aid in determining that point, an original letter of Bradford's was enclosed for comparison of handwriting. At the next meeting of this Society (April, 1855) he reported what he had done in their name, and received their thanks. In August he was enabled to lay the copy which Mr. Hunter had sent before the Society, when he at once began his editorial task. "I was engaged in a conscientious work," he said; and almost every Liverpool packet for some time carried over queries about some word or sentence of the copy, to be verified by the manuscript, — for Mr. Hunter had been allowed by the Bishop to retain the precious document for a while in anticipation of such difficulties.

Mr. Deane was desirous of annotating thoroughly the history; but it had never been the custom of the Society to print original material with such annotations as Judge Davis had supplied to Morton's "Memorial," and as Mr. Savage had bestowed upon Winthrop's Journal. Mr. Savage, who was at this time the President of the Society, favored the traditional habit, and it was only after some delay that it was finally determined that the manuscript should be annotated; but not to the extent to which Mr. Deane would have liked to carry it. The innovation however established a precedent; and no question of the propriety of such elucidatory helps has since been raised in the Society.¹

It was a widely expressed wish, in later years, that Mr. Deane should recur to this work, and give a new edition with all the amplitude of his erudition in commentary and note. He sometimes spoke to me as if he were inclined to the task, and I know that a publisher stood ready to undertake the issue. Our associate, Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr., in bringing up in 1883 the question of the propriety of reproducing in print the abbreviations and other perplexities common in seventeenth-century manuscripts, referred to the literal manner in which Mr. Deane had printed Bradford, and added: "I have long been urging him to bring out a new edition of the book, with which his name should stand always inseparably connected; and I have urged it not only because we may have a more copious annotation, but also because I want to see Bradford's English in a real seventeenth-century dress," — as the press of that day would have given it. This led Mr. Deane to remark at the close of Mr. Adams's paper: "I should probably go farther than he has gone in claiming for an editor the exercise of a more radical power in adapting such material to the use of modern readers." He goes on elucidating further

¹ This was the first publication of the Society of such general interest that an edition for public sale was deemed desirable. When a few years later he visited Fulham, Mr. Deane took with him a copy of the book in which he had checked certain passages for further verification, and he had an opportunity during several hours to compare them with the manuscript. The result is noted in a copy which he kept for correction, and which is in his own library. The changes are of little importance; but there are a few of some interest in the list of the "Mayflower" passengers, printed at the end of the narrative. This corrected copy also bears the following memoranda: "1856, Monday, May 12. A few copies came from the binder. Tuesday, May 20, a notice of the book in some of the public papers. Wednesday, May 21, the book published by Little, Brown, & Co."

his editorial canons: "I directed that an exact transcript of the Bradford manuscript should be made, being very desirous to secure a correct text. On receiving it I found that it not only abounded in abbreviated words, but that many words as spelled out by the writer were spelled quite differently from any examples to be found in printing-offices in England in Bradford's time. Bradford had a spelling of his own. To words of Latin origin that came into our language through the French he would give a French termination, but his peculiarities were not confined to words such as these. If I had attempted to spell out Bradford's abbreviations, I might have been at a loss in some instances, though I apprehend not many, to know how to spell them, — that is to say, to know how Bradford would have spelled them. In some manuscripts the difficulty here would be serious, as it involves the question how to deal with the writings of the ignorant and illiterate."

We have an instance of what he means in this last statement in one of the papers which he prints in the Trumbull Papers, where in referring to the paper he says: "It was written by a very illiterate hand, and it seems hazardous to meddle with its orthography or punctuation. We therefore print the paper *verbatim et literatim*, and leave it to the reader to make out its meaning."

In concluding these remarks occasioned by Mr. Adams's paper Mr. Deane said: "There can be no difference of opinion as to the duty of an editor to retain the language, that is, the words of a writer, however awkward the form may be in which they are preserved." He enlarges in another place on what he believed to be the function of an editor. It is in the preface to Smith's "True Relation," where he says: "Where the meaning of the author has been obscured or perverted by the defective print, or where he has himself failed to express his thoughts clearly, I have ventured to make suggestions in the notes. Where the meaning is apparent at once to the intelligent reader, notwithstanding the defects in punctuation and in the grammatical construction of the sentences, I have usually left the page without comment."¹

¹ Mr. Deane, in a review of Veazie's edition of Calef and Mather's "Wonders of the Invisible World," which he printed in the "Boston Daily Advertiser," March 24, 1865, showed his scrutiny of the non-observance of proper editorial canons. There were two reprints of this article, in separate and sumptuous form,



Mr. Deane never had the opportunity again of doing a like conspicuous service to the student of Pilgrim history, although in 1863 he printed some descriptive verses of Governor Bradford from the original manuscript, and in 1870 he printed in the Society's Proceedings a dialogue in which Bradford had marked some changes in the religious life and feelings, as between what he denominates "old men and young men." Mr. Deane's library contained one of the very few copies which are known of the sermon which Elder Cushman delivered at Plymouth in 1621; and when a photo-lithograph facsimile of the little tract was published in 1870, Mr. Deane supplied the preface. In 1871 he brought forward a letter of Sir John Stanhope, which threw a little light on the early history of Elder Brewster. In 1873 he was a guest at one of the celebrations in connection with the monument to Miles Standish in Duxbury, and the printed record of the meeting contains a report of a speech which he made.

His interest in everything touching the leaders of the Pilgrims or which concerned the Colony's history never waned; and there was no limit to the sympathy which he felt with the late Dr. Dexter in his studies respecting their life and condition in England and Holland. He never failed to attend any commemoration of their deeds, and I have wandered with him over the scenes of their pleasures and trials. I went with him once to Plymouth in company with a group of Harvard students, who wished to traverse the fields of the Pilgrim activity. He was the one to whom everybody listened, as in the Court House, with the early records spread before the eager youths, or at Pilgrim Hall or upon the Burial Hill he told the story which each document or scene suggested. A few years ago, when it devolved upon me to deliver the anniversary address at Duxbury in commemoration of the town's incorporation in 1637, he followed with me every step in the preparation of the paper, with the same care and eagerness as if he had been the chosen speaker. In the last years of his life he also took up the story of the Pilgrim days with pleasure. He reported upon the will of Peregrine White, in the Proceedings

for which he was not responsible in either case. One was called No. 1 of a series of Bibliographical Tracts, with a sub-title of "Spurious Reprints of Early Books" (no second number was issued); and who was responsible for the other edition he never knew.

of November, 1886; he edited the records of the Old Colony Club, whose formation antedated the Revolution, in October, 1887. In December, 1888, he revived much of his interest in the hulk of the old ship which was found buried in the sand of Cape Cod, twenty-five years before, and which had engaged his attention at that time as in all probability that of a vessel named the "Sparrow-hawk" wrecked on the Cape in the Pilgrim days. He took satisfaction in finding that his renewed attention to the hulk, which had been lost sight of for many years, resulted in the remains finding a permanent place in the building of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth. (Proceedings, December, 1888.) I have seen him handle many of his books tenderly; but he always seemed to be reverent in his aspect when he took down from his shelves Edwin Sandys's "State of Religion" (1605) and laid before a visitor the page on which John Robinson, the Pilgrims' pastor, had inscribed his name; for besides the sanctification of that autograph, he was fond of drawing attention to certain passages in the book which might have been the prototypes of parts of Robinson's Farewell Address at Delfthaven.

Mr. Deane's interest in the elder colony, on the James River, might almost mate that which he felt for the Pilgrim history; and perhaps upon no one character had he bestowed more thought than upon Captain John Smith, who served him as a sort of link to connect the early puritan and separatist history of North Virginia — become, by Smith's naming, New England — with the cavalier story of the Chesapeake region. I think that he felt he had more closely connected his name with that of Smith than with any other historical character. When Edward Arber issued his edition of Smith's works in 1884, he spoke of Mr. Deane as one "who had done more than any man living to perpetuate the name and fame of Captain John Smith"; and referring to his own efforts, Mr. Arber added that "Mr. Deane was the proper person to have brought out this collected edition of Captain Smith's works."

The first public indication of his interest in Smith grew out of some correspondence which he had with Mr. Lenox respecting the maps which Smith had given in his books on Virginia and New England, in which the joint efforts of these two scholars were directed to establish the sequence of the dif-

ferent editions of the maps, and to associate their publication with the particular tracts to which they belonged, inasmuch as the subject had become much obscured by the way in which dealers had shifted the maps in copies of different tracts, made up for the eyes of collectors. It was necessary to find copies of these tracts so far as was possible in their original bindings; and this involved a wide examination of libraries. Both gentlemen used Norton's "Literary Gazette" as the medium of their communications. This was in 1854.

In 1856, when Dr. George H. Moore drew the attention of scholars to the fact that Anderson, in his "Church of England in the Colonies," had also used the Bradford manuscript, this book served also to bring into notice Anderson's reference to another manuscript, preserved in the Archbishopal Palace at Lambeth, which had before been unknown to students of early Virginia history, though it was evident that Purchas had used such a paper. Mr. Deane, attracted by what Anderson had said, after "some delay and some difficulties surmounted," procured a transcript, which he intended to edit at his convenience; but being put on the Publication Committee of the American Antiquarian Society, he laid it before that body at the October meeting in 1859, and in presenting it for their consideration, he outlined the argument, which tended, as the record runs, "to show that the story of Pocahontas, as commonly received, was probably apocryphal." This was the first intimation that the favorite romance of American history, the saving of Smith's life by Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, had been put to a critical test. The latest explorer of the secrets of the early Virginia history, Mr. Alexander Brown, referring to Mr. Deane's questioning of the statements which Smith had embodied in the "Generall Historie," so at variance with that author's earlier presentations, speaks of those who had before this questioned Smith's veracity, but adds that "Dr. Deane was the first to suggest an intelligent analysis of his writings for freeing our early history from the meshes of his fable." It was by a process of critical analysis and comparison, with the aid of reflected light from other sources, that Mr. Deane, in studying Wingfield's "Discourse," the manuscript found at Lambeth, made that romantic story the crucial test of Smith's veracity,

—an argument which he further strengthened when a few years later he returned to the subject, while editing Smith's "True Relation."

The result of Mr. Deane's criticism probably warrants the statement of Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, in his "History of American Literature," when he says that "this pretty story has now lost historical credit, and is generally given up by critical students of our early history." Judge Washburn, at a meeting of the Antiquarian Society a few years after that Society had published the "Discourse" of Wingfield, under Mr. Deane's supervision, spoke of the "iconoclastic severity of research of one of our most industrious and infallible members, who has demolished at a blow the image of female courage and devotion which has so long emblazoned the name of Pocahontas."

It is a question, however, if Mr. Deane himself could have been considered as claiming the accomplishment of so thorough a demolition. He professes no more than "to *suggest* that this story is one of the embellishments with which Smith's later works were sometimes adorned." While the view which he advanced is extremely probable, it lacks the final proof, and is at best a negative argument; which, while it has commended itself to writers like Henry Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Alexander Brown, and has been pushed farther by Edward D. Neill, has not convinced, on the other hand, some of the upholders of a faith in Smith, particularly in Virginia itself, where William Wirt Henry and others have contended for the favorite belief.

Mr. Deane's edition of Wingfield was published in the Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society in 1860; and a small edition (one hundred copies) was published separately by the editor, in the same year, some earlier impressions which bear the date of 1859 having been "cancelled because of a few errors," and even copies which had been distributed were recalled.

From the time that Mr. Deane published his "True Relation" down to 1885, when he reverted to the Pocahontas story in the "Magazine of American History" (vol. xiii.), he published nothing more on the topic; and he said in this last paper that his views had excited an attention which he had never anticipated. "Much," he says, "has been written

during the last twenty-five years on both sides of the question. Some of the criticisms, which early met my eye, by Southern writers opposed to my view were temperate in spirit and excellent in taste; but I sometimes felt that the authors of them were not fully informed on the subject,—that the bibliography of the case had not been mastered. On the other hand several newspaper articles which were sent to me were discourteous and passionate in tone, while others were personally abusive,” styling him, as he said, a “ruthless Yankee,” who had rifled “our very history of its choicest traditions.”

In this last paper Mr. Deane expresses himself as particularly pleased with Mr. Henry Adams’s paper in the “North American Review” (January, 1867), because he found it an admirable presentation of the whole question, giving a comparison of Smith’s earlier and later statements throughout in a very effective manner, and “showing how little reliance could be placed on the redoubtable captain as a truthful narrator of events, particularly in his later works, where his vanity and strong love of the marvellous disposed him to garnish the stories of his early adventures.”

When the Civil War broke out, a few months after the publication of his *Wingfield*, bringing as it did a cessation to the community of interest which he had established with some of the Virginian antiquarians, this disruption of friendly relation was added to his regrets as a patriot to make the beginning of hostilities to him a painful event. Nothing, however, of sentiment, friendly or agreeable, could swerve him from his devotion to his duty as a citizen; and he never forgot the part which the Republican party did in restoring the national unity, and remained steadfast in his allegiance to it, in later years, when many of his associates thought that its usefulness had passed.

The campaign on the Potomac brought back to him the associations of the early history of that region; and in October, 1864, he read to the Antiquarian Society a paper on the historic points on the James, connected with the movements of the contending forces.

When the war was over, he returned again to his study of these early tracts of Smith; and the reprints of the “Advertisements for Unexperienced Planters,” and “The Description of New England,” both issued at Boston in 1865, bear

evidence of his care ; but it was in the next year, 1866, that he bestowed his best care upon a reissue of Smith's "True Relation of Virginia." Mr. Deane approached the consideration of this earliest of all the Virginian published narratives with no abatement of his interest in Smith, notwithstanding his criticism upon his veracity. He still could call him "the master spirit of the Colony," and thought that he was now dealing with a narrative which had been written before he had occasion for "embellishments." It is, he says, "an apparently faithful history of the Colony for the period which it includes. When Captain Smith," he adds, "comes in collision with others in authority in the Colony, some allowance perhaps should be made for his strong prejudices, and it is always well, if possible, to read their versions of the story in connection with his." He referred here to the "Discourse" of Wingfield, in which the latter had defended himself from some of the charges made against him by Smith. His editorial labors upon "The True Relation" brought him again into reciprocal correspondence with Mr. Lenox, on the bibliographical side of his problem ; and he found that scholarly collector the laborious coadjutor in such questions which he always proved himself to be when there was something to receive as well as to give. I have often found Mr. Deane to acknowledge the great helpfulness and exhaustiveness of that gentleman's bibliographical correspondence, and it was some gratification to my friend to know that my own experience with Mr. Lenox could add to his testimony. Something akin to the help which Mr. Lenox was to him on that side, was the assistance which Mr. Bancroft afforded him on the purely historical side in opening his stores of manuscripts on early Virginia history, derived from the English State Paper Office.

Mr. Deane's editorial work did not fail of recognition. Professor Tyler referred to its admirable manner, its fulness of learning, and its great accuracy.

Mr. Deane was now on the eve of seeing for himself the treasures, of record and print, with which his labors had made him familiar. At the meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, in April, 1866, Mr. Haven, the librarian, and Mr. Deane were chosen to represent the Society at an Archæological Congress to be held in Antwerp ; and later our associate,

Dr. Peabody, was joined to the delegation. They sailed on June 6 ; and though their main purpose was not effected on account of the postponement of the Congress for a year, the trip was far from a barren one. He made a very full record of his movements and observations in a file of letters which his family preserve ; and some of those, in whole or in part, which he addressed to the President of the Historical Society were printed in its Proceedings. Dr. Peabody has also furnished some memoranda. " We stayed," he says, " two or three days at Chester, where Mr. Deane of course found great delight. At Oxford it was vacation ; but Mr. Deane made the acquaintance of Mr. Coxe, of the Bodleian Library, and received various civilities from him." It was at the Bodleian that he saw the extremely rare original edition (1588) of Hariot's " Newfoundland of Virginia," which he had only known in the text of Hakluyt and De Bry, and I am not sure that Mr. Lenox at this time did not possess the only copy which I know of in America. Another book which greatly interested him was the 1620 edition of Smith's " New Englands Trials " ; and he wrote home of it that there was no copy known in the United States, — though he himself possessed the somewhat enlarged edition of 1622. He found the Bodleian copy to differ a little from that in the British Museum ; and from a transcript of it, which Mr. Coxe procured for him, he caused it to be reprinted in our Proceedings in 1873.¹

" At London," says Dr. Peabody, " we lodged in Norfolk Street. We had kind attentions from Mr. Adams, our minister, and from Mr. Morse, our consul. Mr. Deane spent a good deal of time on antiquarian matters with Mr. Henry Stevens and Mr. Parker."

In a letter to his family (July 1), Mr. Deane speaks of an excursion to Greenwich as follows : —

" We went to dine, by invitation, with a club of gentlemen called the Noviomagians, — all being members of the Society of Antiquaries. The President of the club is Mr. S. C. Hall ; both he and Mrs. Hall were present. I understand the origin of the club to be this : There was an old Roman station in England called Noviomagus, but its location is unknown. This society was formed with the plan of discovering

¹ He also printed a private edition of fifty copies.

its site, and they meet once a month at different places with the ostensible purpose of investigation. The truth is, they meet to have a dinner and a good time."

While in London he examined at the Public Record Office what there is remaining of the Records of the Council for New England; and he was not so successful as he had hoped to be from an inspection of Captain Newport's "Discovery," in solving the mooted question of its authorship. At Lambeth he inspected the manuscript of Wingfield's "Discourse." At Guildhall he was delighted to find among the antiquities a form of pipe, common in the early half of the seventeenth century, which corresponded exactly with the shape of one which was discovered in the wreck of the old ship at Cape Cod; and its corresponding shape went a great way to satisfy him of the antiquity of that hulk. He went to St. Sepulchre's to look upon the burial-place of Captain Smith, with none of the scepticism that has since been raised regarding the identity of the spot; but he was disappointed to find a carpet between his tread and the slab upon which so many visitors have traced the three Turks' heads. But his visit to Fulham was his chief enjoyment. He saw and handled the precious manuscript of Bradford, as the present writer did at a later day. He was delighted to find in it a fly-leaf inscription in Prince's hand, which had escaped the attention of Hunter, and which added to the history of the document; and he found two other volumes of manuscripts which, by the book-plates in them, had likewise been taken from the Prince Library, — the former repository of the Bradford. He also, as already stated, made a partial verification of his own printed text.¹ In the interval since it was first brought to the attention of American scholars, no one from the land of its origin had seen it. Two years after Mr. Deane had published it, Dr. John Waddington, giving a lecture in Southwark (1858), had exhibited it to his audience,

¹ Mr. Deane made two visits to Fulham, — the first was to a garden party given by the Bishop, when he merely glanced at the Bradford manuscript and made arrangements for a more careful examination of it at a later day. On this occasion he spent four hours, "sitting in the same room with a number of young candidates for the ministry who had come to be examined by the Bishop." He declined an invitation to lunch, and lost not a precious minute of the time which he had to give to a collation of the manuscript.

and had said: "So far as we know, not a person now living in the lands of the Pilgrims has ever seen this manuscript. It has been kept at Fulham among the papers of no use to the See. It is not in the catalogue of the library, and probably is not included in any inventory of the property." The reverend gentleman then urges that steps be taken for its return to New England. Two years after this (1860), Mr. Deane's friend, the then President of this Society, had represented that the Prince of Wales, in his proposed visit to the United States, could very gracefully bring it, and so restore it to its former ownership. The necessary interposition of an act of Parliament to accomplish such a transfer stood in the way at that time, as it did some years later, when, at the instance of the present writer, our minister, Mr. Motley, made similar inquiries. I know that Mr. Deane finally shared my own feeling, that it would be better for it to remain where it is; and during a recent second visit which I have paid to Fulham, I was glad to learn of the interest with which it is regarded, and of the steps which the present Bishop is taking to put the muniments and other manuscripts of his diocese in better order.

Mr. Deane made various trips from London, and took in his way at different times some of the interesting regions which the ordinary tourist traverses. But he saw other sights that pleased him more. He was at Althorp, and saw that private library in all Europe perhaps which offers most allurements to a lover of books. He was at Bawtry, where some friends of Richard Monckton Milnes—afterward Lord Houghton—made it very pleasant for him to visit Scrooby and Austerfield; and he has chronicled this visit to the shrine of Bradford in the preface to his edition of Bradford's Dialogue in our Proceedings in 1870.

"We afterward went to Cambridge," says Dr. Peabody, "but found nobody there that we wanted to see; then to Boston, and you would have to go through Thomson's History of Boston for the list of the spots there which Mr. Deane visited with the searching eye of a practised antiquary, so that to him I owe a more lifelike remembrance of all I saw there than of any other town in England. We went from England to Belgium, thence to Switzerland, and I parted from Mr. Deane at the glacier of the Rhone. All that I can say of him is that he

was as pleasant a fellow traveller and sojourner as ever man could be, and that the intimacy of several weeks only intensified every impression as to his sterling worth, his genuine kindness, and his breadth of mind and heart that I had formed from previous acquaintance. I think that he fully enjoyed his stay in England. His unfamiliarity with any language but his own seemed to impair his enjoyment of the Continent; for English was not then the universal language which it has now become, and there were various occasions on which Mr. Deane felt the lack of a ready medium of intercourse."

This lack of facility in other tongues was during all his student life an impediment in research which met him in various directions. His scant training in Latin in his youth was not increased by a subsequent college career, as at one time it was expected it would be, and he had to depend on others for the interpretation of the Latin which he found in Peter Martyr, De Bry, and various other of the older sources; and it was a particular regret to him that he was balked in this way in his study of the inscriptions on the Cabot *mappe-monde*, which was for many years a theme for his investigations. It was about the only thing on the Continent that he saw upon which he could bring to bear the great stress of his historical learning. He inspected it in the great library at Paris, and made a friendship over it with one of the officers of the library that led to a later correspondence.¹ But these impediments were not unsurmountable, and he spared no pains or expense in getting the services of the best experts in unravelling the intricacies of debased Latin and archaic Spanish and Italian. There is an evidence of this in the paper on these same inscriptions which he left unfinished at his death, but which he intrusted to the hands of Mr. C. C. Smith. It has since been communicated to our Proceedings (1891).

Late in the season of 1866 he returned to America, and was able, at the meeting of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester in October, to render some account of his trip.

¹ In a letter of September 5 he speaks of finding exposed for sale on the Quai Voltaire a copy of Jomard's facsimile of the Cabot map; and from the dealer on the Quai he got his first clew to the repository of the original in the Bibliothèque Impériale, where the next day he had the satisfaction of inspecting it and making memoranda from it for future use.

This account of his European experience has interrupted the story of his devotion to Virginia history. Mention has already been made of the interest with which he observed a rare copy of one of Smith's books which he saw in the Bodleian. In the London Society of Antiquaries he had been interested in what he could glean of Smith from a broadside prospectus of his "Generall Historie" (1624), and in the Public Record Office he had seen Smith's letter to Lord Bacon, and by the favor of Mr. Henry Adams, then secretary to his father, the American minister in London, he had procured a copy of Smith's will, which he communicated to the Proceedings of our Society in January, 1867. We find also in the same volume a communication upon Bacon's "Rebellion on the James."

In 1872 he accompanied Mr. Haven on a trip through the Southern States; and he did not fail to make it an opportunity of comparing the copy of the records of the Virginia Company which is preserved in Richmond with another which he had seen in Washington.

I well remember, in the later years of his life, when he received a letter from a retired student in Virginia, who had been made familiar with all that Mr. Deane had done for Virginia history, while in the country, away from libraries. Depending on his own exertions, this gentleman had been studying, with little intercourse with kindred spirits, the earliest history of the movement for settling Virginia. He had come to a stand for want of access to some of the rarest of the early tracts, and he knew they were in Mr. Deane's library. He wrote to him, telling his straightforward story, to ask if he might borrow them. His letter showed that he had no ordinary curiosity. His manner easily convinced one that he knew whereof he was writing. Mr. Deane was struck with one of his pleas for the favor; and I trust that the gentleman will pardon me, if this memoir chances to fall under his eye, for mentioning it. He had served in the Confederate forces, and was in Fort Fisher at the time the Federal commander sought to demolish that stronghold by the explosion near it of a heavily stored powder-boat. Mr. Deane's correspondent said that about the only mischief which the explosion did was to damage the drums of his ears so severely that he had hardly heard anything since, and that this barrier to social intercourse had had

something to do with his devotion to historical studies. He moreover thought the North owed him something for what had been inflicted upon him !

No man loved his books more tenderly than Mr. Deane ; and I know that on more than one occasion when I have been with him on journeys from Cambridge, a thought for the safety of his books which he had left behind, was not far from his mind. He told the Society once, in speaking of his acquaintance with Dr. Kohl, while that gentleman was living in Cambridge, how he lent " armfuls of books " to him ; and once when the Doctor was leaving his house, " he slung a large package of books over his shoulder like a travelling pack, and trudged off with them in a drifting snowstorm, making me almost tremble for my precious volumes." In his memoir of Mr. Livermore he again shows what a solicitude he had about the ordinary treatment of books. He said of his friend, —

" He knew how to open a book without breaking its back, and to turn over its leaves so that its owner would not tremble. There is a knack in all this, known only to the true lover of books, — to him who reverences not merely the author, or the author's thoughts, but the concrete object before him."

There was a struggle between his kindly feelings for his new-found sympathizer in Virginia and his thoughts of the dangers which his treasures might encounter on the transit or by accident in distant service. I left him one evening debating upon his duty. The next day he told me he had sent the books ; and he never regretted the assistance which he had given in this and in many other ways to the author of the " Genesis of the United States." Mr. Alexander Brown in his preface says that Mr. Deane " gave his helping hand from the beginning to the end ; and his last letter to me," he adds, " is expressive of his interest and great faith in my work." I well know the endeavors which Mr. Deane made to help the author get his manuscript into a shape that the publishers could approve, and the great delight he felt in some developments which researches in the archives at Simancas, conducted in Mr. Brown's interest, had produced in throwing light on the voyage of Pring, it may be, to the New England coast, and the abortive settlement of the Popham Company. In Mr. Brown's book he supplied the note on St. George's fort, in

illustrating the plan which had been found at Simancas. "One would think," he says in this note, "that the walls of so formidable a structure [as delineated on the plan] would have shown something more than a mere ruin after the lapse of only seventeen years"; and then he quotes Maverick's account of it in 1624, where this settler says he "found roots and garden herbs and some old walls." If Mr. Deane could have lived to see Mr. Brown's volumes published, and have longer considered the plan, he might have been conscious that an exaggeration, which he plainly suspected, may possibly have had a purpose, when the plan was put in the hands of the Spanish ambassador in London, of imposing upon the Spanish Court a false notion of its strength. With this interest in Mr. Brown's labors, Mr. Deane closed almost with his life his interest in Virginia history.

In tracing thus his special attention to the stories of the Plymouth and Virginia colonizations, we must not understand that Mr. Deane's studies were bound by such limitations. Every phase of New England history and many of a broader American study engaged at different times his vigilance.

As early as 1850 he printed in the "New England Historical and Genealogical Register" a manuscript which had come into his hands, going over the devious tracks of the Gorton controversy, which proved to be almost identical with Edward Winslow's defence of Massachusetts, "Hypocrasie Unmasked," against Gorton's attacks in his "Simplicities Defence," both published in 1646. In introducing this paper and others appertaining, he gave an outline of Gorton's puzzling career. In referring to Winslow's book, he speaks of it as of exceeding rarity, and adds: "Two or three copies of the work are now owned here [one was in his own library]; and as it contains much valuable matter, it should be reprinted." The urgency of a reprint is as strong now as then.

Few of our students have been more familiar with the older chroniclers of Massachusetts than Mr. Deane. He had a great admiration for the historical work of Hutchinson. In a little essay on the bibliographical questions connected with Hutchinson's history, which he printed first in the "Historical Magazine," and later in an improved shape in our Proceedings

for February, 1857, he says: "To the curious and critical Hutchinson will always have a value; but to the student who seeks for the sources of our history, his work will always be indispensable"; and thirty years later, when he had occasion to review the writers on New England history, he spoke of Hutchinson as having "a genius for history."

In 1860 he brought another of the old writers under review, while calling attention to the sections of the diary of Cotton Mather, which are preserved in the cabinets of the Historical and Antiquarian Societies. He says:—

"The Journal of Cotton Mather has not been published, although extracts have been made from it from time to time, and perhaps exceptions might be made to certain parts of it as improper, useless, and uninteresting; and yet we think that much of it and perhaps the larger portion would be found to be valuable and full of interest. Although there is a great deal about himself, his illuminations, his resolves, and his struggles, the special providences by which he was surrounded and upheld, yet these furnish in many respects a good illustration of the faith and religious condition of that period. Taken as a whole the diary is a psychological curiosity, and gives an excellent index to his character. There is beside a sufficient reference to public characters and events to make the work valuable in a strictly historical point of view."

Two years later he drew from these fragmentary journals such of the entries as shed light upon the curious work best associated with Mather's name, his "Magnalia," and published his results in our Proceedings for December, 1862. This "Magnalia" was a book often in his hands; and he rendered a service to many a possessor of the original edition by adding to such copies, what they usually lacked,—a list of errata, which he had printed in facsimile for his own copy. After many years' experience in the use of that book he was ready to bear testimony to the vast amount of historical material which rendered it an indispensable accompaniment of every library in New England history, notwithstanding its vagaries and inaccuracies.

Mather had omitted from the "Magnalia" an extended life of Governor Dudley, which he had prepared, substituting for it a brief statement. In 1858 his longer memoir came into Mr. Deane's hand in a modern transcript; but he could not be

induced to print it without reference to the original manuscript. At a later day this original — not indeed in Mather's hand — came to the Society among some Dudley papers; and our Proceedings for January, 1870, preserve it to us with the advantage of Mr. Deane's scrutinizing oversight.

Notwithstanding the secondary character of Hubbard as an historian, Mr. Deane took a peculiar pleasure in seeing that the Society's early reprint (1815) of his history, which had been made from an imperfect copy, was completed; and when he laid the recovered pages of the book before the Society in February, 1878, he prefaced them with a statement which told the story.

In 1862 he conducted an amicable controversy, before the Historical Society, with the late Colonel Aspinwall on the genuineness of the Narragansett Patent, which was granted, as was professed by the magistrates of Massachusetts, in 1643. Shrouded in mystery, as Mr. Deane allowed the document to be, and inducing a conflict of jurisdiction, it was characteristic of his umpiring as a judge of historic probabilities, not to allow a document to be fraudulent or a forgery, if the way was not rendered thereby clearer to a final settlement of doubts. He would not abandon confidence in a paper simply to increase the perplexity of a question. He always seemed to have a personal interest in seeing any historical controversy brought to an ultimate decision. "I always like to see historical questions settled," he said on this occasion. "It would be gratifying in many respects to be able to concur in all these statements; but I am not quite able to do so"; and no emphasis of contrary asseveration could have carried greater weight. I remember the particular delight he felt, when in 1881 he received one of Henry Stevens's catalogues, and found in it the evidence that Ferdinando Gorges was not accountable for the insertion among his father's tracts of Johnson's "Wonder-working Providence," which with later writers had brought upon the son some severe condemnation. He had himself considered the suspicious circumstances in a review of Mr. Poole's edition of Johnson's book, in the "North American Review" in 1868. He felt that he had done a duty to a maligned innocent when he cited the proof that freed the memory of the younger Gorges of the charge.

In 1865 he gave a certain dignity at the outset to the Prince

Society in editing their initial reprint of Wood's "New Englands Prospect."

In the year after his return from Europe the American Antiquarian Society profited by his researches there in the publication which he made in their Proceedings (April, 1867) of the Records of the Council for New England, bringing to its elucidation of his abundant knowledge; and at a later day, in October, 1875, he was pleased to be able to add farther to the elucidation. The studies for this naturally conducted him afresh to the methods which obtained in the early days, through which legal possession was acquired in the soil of New England. He was never steadier in perception or riper in judgment than when he read, in December, 1869, his paper on "The Forms used in issuing Letters Patent by the Crown of England." It was a question involving large historical knowledge and not a little legal aptitude; and he made no failure in marshalling in his own mind side by side the historical elements of the question from his own resources, and the legal side from his conferences with the highest authorities which our Massachusetts Bar could offer. He did it in a way that drew forth the commendation of Judge Parker. He had no unvarying pride of opinion, though he clung to his opinions as long as he could. He had, in the paper that first drew upon him the attention of leading members of this Society, sided with those who have granted to Endicott the honor of being the first governor of Massachusetts. His more mature opinion led him to other conclusions in this paper of 1869.

I hardly remember more than two historical controversies, among the many which had engaged his attention, in which Mr. Deane showed more grief than impatience at wrong-headedness. The first of these was the effort which for some years was made by some strenuous disciples of local pride in Maine — his own State — to rehabilitate the fame of the abortive Popham Colony with all the concomitants of a settled and fruitful purpose, with the aim of proving it the parent colony of New England. He watched their deliberate endeavors for some years, more with wonder than with pain, and only in the effort to make a crowning demonstration in 1871 did he enter his protest; and he later embodied his views in a report of his remarks which were printed in the "Boston Daily Advertiser" of Sept. 2, 1871.

The other controversy was the more recent one, which grew out of the stand which this Society took in 1880, when the attempt was made to accentuate the alleged geographical certainties of the Icelandic Sagas in erecting the statue of a Northman in Boston. His words were sober. "To elevate these sagas," he said, "to the dignity of historical relations with their details, and to put implicit reliance on their data as to time and place, seems to me unwarrantable. They are shadowy and mystical in form, and often uncertain in meaning."

If the Popham question had been one where the affirmative contestants had yielded in a certain sense to State pride, the character and acts of Roger Williams have usually banded together as his advocates the writers of Rhode Island, and given to the defenders of Massachusetts a solid rank of censors more or less warm in their feelings. No man looked his own side more squarely in the face when he thought it should quail, than Mr. Deane did. He recognized the overbearing ardor of the Massachusetts people when their interests came in conflict with those of their weaker neighbors; and more than once he bore testimony to his faith in what in one of his earliest writings, quoting from Polybius, he called the eye of history, — truth. But as a student of the world's stages of progress, he failed to see how the action of Roger Williams, in endeavoring to upset the common polity of his time, could be suffered in any self-respecting community which was making a struggle for existence, as the Bay Colony in those days was; and in a paper which he read to this Society, in February, 1873, he might well maintain that Williams, in trying to invalidate the royal grants, "flew in the face of the public law of the world at that time."¹

Mr. Deane took much satisfaction in the publications of Hakluyt, — he possessed the original editions of all his books, — and I have often seen them at his side as he was working in his study. His interest in all that related to the claims of England to the northern continent — claims derived from the voyages of the Cabots, father and son — and his study of the urgency of the friends of English colonization often took him to the collections of their great champion.

¹ He had already touched the question in his notice of the first volume — Williams's "Key" — of the publications of the Narragansett Club, in the "North American Review," April, 1868.

Hakluyt's volumes were the great starting-point of his interest in the Cabots, and he was led to a study of what records we have to determine the sizes of the little ships of the early voyagers across the Atlantic. He prepared a paper on this subject in 1865, and in October of the same year he spoke to the Antiquarian Society of "the exceedingly meagre and unsatisfactory accounts which have been submitted of the voyages of the Cabots, and suggested," as the records read, "the propriety of the Society's taking measures to have a memoir on that subject prepared." From this time he was looked to as the fittest person to meet expectations on this subject. We have seen that in the next year he studied afresh the Cabot *mappe-monde* of 1544 at Paris; and his interest was quickened by the words which Buckingham Smith had spoken to him of the desirableness of a closer study of its inscriptions; and all this bore fruit in the copy of them which he later procured, and which since his death has been laid before this Society by Mr. Smith. He now procured Jomard's copy of the map, and gave it to the Antiquarian Society in April, 1867. I had been so long conversant with his interest in this subject, and knew so well how closely he had scrutinized Biddle's "Life of Sebastian Cabot," that when it devolved on me, in 1882, to assign the chapter on the Cabots in the "Narrative and Critical History of America," there was no choice,—the assignment was foreordained. It was while he was at work on this — one of the most critically skilful treatises of the book — that we availed together of the visit which Mr. Winthrop was about making to Europe, to engage that gentleman's interposition to secure a full-sized photograph of the map with its marginal inscriptions. I communicated with a few libraries and individuals, and got a circle of ten to share the expense. The reproduction was so successful that the photographer claimed the privilege of exhibiting his work at an exposition then going on in Paris, as embodying the most successful results in so difficult a piece of photography which at that time had been reached. In October, 1882, Mr. Deane had the satisfaction of laying an advanced copy of this photograph before the Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

Meanwhile he had in other ways linked his name with Hakluyt's, as a modern commentator on a manuscript of the

old collector. When Dr. Woods, his friend and the President of Bowdoin College, was in England, not far from the time of Mr. Deane's own visit, he had secured from the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps a copy of a paper by Hakluyt, on "Western Planting," in which that writer had come again to the task which he began in his "Divers Voyages" of instilling into the English mind some sense of the opportunities which were offered for securing English supremacy in the northern parts of the New World. The paper was in its nature historical, in enumerating what other nations had done and in showing how there was an opening for English enterprise. Dr. Woods was eager to meet the wishes of the friends of the Maine Historical Society, in procuring some new and striking material for their publications; and the Society was just at this time entering upon a more vigorous career than had before distinguished it. Though this subject was "a comparatively new field of study for Dr. Woods," he entered upon a plan of editing the manuscript with eagerness, and early had recourse to Mr. Deane and his library for help. A few years later, when the body of the text had been stereotyped in Cambridge under the supervision of Mr. Deane, a fire (1873) in the house of Dr. Woods at Brunswick, Maine, destroyed his library, though the rough notes of an intended preface and introduction to the book were saved, while a few other fragments of this performance were in Mr. Deane's hands. The blow levelled at a man no longer robust fell heavily upon Dr. Woods, and it soon became evident that he was unfit to proceed with his task. Mr. Deane was called upon to complete the labor. He worked Dr. Woods's notes and unfinished paragraphs into a continuous narrative, and the joinery with its gaps filled was submitted to Dr. Woods for his approval. This received, the book was published by the Maine Historical Society as "A Discourse concerning Western Planting, written in the year 1584 by Richard Hakluyt, now first printed from a contemporary manuscript, with a preface and an introduction by Leonard Woods, LL.D.; edited with notes in an appendix by Charles Deane (Cambridge, 1877)." The appendix occupies a third of the volume. The task with Dr. Woods living was delicately performed; and when the original editor died, Mr. Deane paid him a kindly tribute, in January, 1879, at a meeting of our Society.

Another result of Dr. Woods's visit to the Philipps collection had been the procuring of a letter and abstracts of other epistles written by Edward Randolph while he was gaining the designation of being "the evil genius of New England"; and these, together with Randolph's narrative, in a better copy than had been printed in the "Andros Tracts," Mr. Deane communicated to our Society in November, 1880. These were but manifestations of the study which he had long given to the efforts which had been made from time to time by interested persons to vacate the first charter of Massachusetts Bay. When just about this time it fell to the present writer to plan and carry forward a "Memorial History of Boston," in recognition of the completion of two hundred and fifty years since the founding of the city by Winthrop, its editor naturally turned to Mr. Deane to elucidate that long struggle of the Colony, so closely connected with Boston history, to thwart the machinations of the enemies of the Colony, and to preserve its charter. He did the work with extreme care and with patent skill.

When two years later the same editor was called upon to enter into a much larger field of supervision, by bringing nearly forty writers into conjunction, in covering in a monographic and critical fashion the entire range of American history, English, French, Spanish, Dutch, and all else, as well as its aboriginal and archæological aspects, he entered upon the task with the full recognition of the lightening of his labor which he could expect from his nearest neighbor and friend, and with a thorough acquaintance with what he could hope for from Mr. Deane's wonderfully rich library. Such environments did not a little reconcile me to the formidableness of the task. During the eight years while it occupied my attention, I never failed of sympathy and encouragement, and the lawn between our houses had its path which was almost daily trod to his study. He was never so occupied but his pen was laid down, and I was by his kindly manner invited to make my levy upon his manifold resources. It has been a great regret to me that he did not live to see the work completed. The last volume never fell under his scrutiny.

I have already mentioned how I turned to him at once for the elucidation of the Cabot voyages. With equal confidence I assigned to him the section which was to cover the history of

New England down to the Revolution of Andros. The survey which he made in the critical essay, appended to the narrative, of the original as well as secondary sources of that history, took him anew over a ground which was everywhere imprinted with his own footsteps.

He had long studied Massachusetts history on those sides which had elicited strictures on her people and their methods. He stood like a champion where he thought there was justice to be awarded, and he dropped the screen with equal facility if he felt that her people had swerved from the straightest paths. The whole question of her connection with the enslaving of negroes found its culmination for him in the Constitution of 1780, and in the relation of its Bill of Rights to the evil which it was held to eradicate. In 1860 he had been asked to consider the printed report of the Committee which presented a form of constitution for Massachusetts in 1780. He well knew, as every student of our State history does know, how the question of the abolishment of slavery within its borders had from an early date in the last century been the subject of consideration; but "obstacles and embarrassments," especially in the time of the royal governors, stood in the way. In September, 1868, he had laid before the Society a communication, which is still on file at the State House, and which the Legislature of Massachusetts had in 1777 — the year following the Declaration of Independence — prepared for bringing the question to the notice of the Congress at Philadelphia. He well knew that the feeling and the sounding phrase which embodied it — namely, that all men are created equal — was, in those boiling days of emancipation of thought, common enough to fill the air and become the common property of those who were at that time framing bills of rights for the States and a Declaration of Independence for the land. But it was the act which converted these generalities into a deed of enfranchisement which interested Mr. Deane. When, in April, 1874, Chief Justice Gray placed before this Society the note-book of Chief Justice Cushing on the case of the Commonwealth *versus* Jennison, where it was held that such a general sentence in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights had abolished slavery in the State, the question was first raised at our meetings of the tradition which assigned to Judge Lowell, rather than to John Adams, the introduc-

tion of that all-powerful phrase into the Bill of Rights. This led to Mr. Deane's paper on Judge Lowell and the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, in which he traced all these ebullitions of fervor back to the prevailing sentiments which the opening scenes of the Revolution had engendered.

Mr. Deane also contributed, and elucidated with preface and notes, a mass of original papers respecting slavery in Massachusetts, which appeared in the Collections of our Society in 1877.

One of the last of the elaborate papers which Mr. Deane wrote was embodied in the Report of the Council of the Antiquarian Society, October, 1886, in which he reviewed the connection of Massachusetts with the slave-trade and slavery. It had not long before been said in the Senate at Washington, in the heat of political debate, that "Massachusetts was the nursing mother of the horrors of the middle passage." A lawyer who was his neighbor at Cambridge urged Mr. Deane to reply to this hazardous charge; but he declined the task in favor of his friend. Failing health prevented this friend from bringing his studies for a paper to a conclusion, and Mr. Deane finally received from him his incomplete essay. Mr. Deane now entered with thoroughness and insight upon the task of tracing the rise of slavery on the American continent, and of the hand which England bore in creating the traffic in bondmen and making it commercially successful. "The share which Massachusetts had in the planting of slavery in the New World," he said, "was but a drop in the bucket compared with that of England." He made no concealment of the business interests which were promoted by the traffic in Boston and Salem; but from the time of Samuel Sewall, at least, "there was always a protest from the heart of the people against this crime to humanity, which ere long made itself felt as a controlling influence in the community."

The reputation which Mr. Deane has left behind him is that of an historical scholar almost peerless among his American contemporaries, if we separate this condition from that of a writer. He has not associated his name with any great, long-sustained piece of historical writing, but he has raised as a monument of his labors the image of an untiring investigator, a conscientious painstaker in research, and an exemplar for judi-

cial fairness. There was no topic too minute for his thoroughness. He dearly loved to drive the smallest error from the field. It was a pleasure for him to rehabilitate a forgotten fact.

I have often heard him speak of one of the earliest of the minor investigations which he had made. He saved all the scraps, correspondence, and prints respecting it, and had them arranged in a book. He seemed to look upon it as one of the primal indications of his spirit of minute research, and on his death-bed expressed a wish to have that scrap-book placed in the library of our Society, where it now is. An attempt had been made to palm off a portrait of Franklin as that of Roger Williams, and Mr. Deane's purpose had been to expose the deceit. I remember when, many years afterward, the original fraud was again brought to light from the obscurity to which he had consigned it, how his old interest revived as once more he came to the rescue of the truth. He took a similar interest in the deceit which was practised in 1772, when some one employed Paul Revere to engrave a likeness of Charles Churchill, the English poet, which the publisher of the Newport edition of Church's narrative made to pass for a picture of the old Indian fighter by having a powder-horn slung over the poet's shoulders. The fraud had been observed before Mr. Deane referred to it in 1858; but he was not able for many years to put in juxtaposition the exact print from which Revere must have worked. He accidentally discovered it in an old magazine of 1768; and he was led, in February, 1882, to bring the matter afresh before the Historical Society with the completed proof in reproductions of the two engravings.

When Dr. Palfrey was in England he endeavored to discover some document with a perfect copy of the seal of the Council for New England, and Mr. Deane renewed the search at a later day. The only seal known was a fragment patched together which hangs from the patent of Plymouth Colony preserved in the Plymouth archives. As I saw it with Mr. Deane in 1882, I thought two men, one with a bow, could be made out as part of the device. Dr. Palfrey at a much earlier day said it was so broken and defaced that the design was undistinguishable. When that writer issued a new edition of his first volume in 1865, he gave on his titlepage as the seal of the Council the arms which appear on John Smith's map of New

England; and he was led to adopt it by a letter of Mr. Deane's, dated June 10, 1865, which foreshadowed the line of argument in a paper which was printed in the Proceedings of this Society in 1867. The later investigations of Mr. Baxter, of the Maine Historical Society, when he was prompted by another fragment found in the "Trelawny Papers," threw considerable doubt on the correctness of Mr. Deane's earlier reasons; and in the last paper which he wrote touching the subject, he warned his readers of this counter-presentation.

It is hardly necessary to cite all of the small investigations with which Mr. Deane enriched the Proceedings of the Historical and Antiquarian Societies for many years, to increase the evidence that his pertinacity in search was just as conspicuous in small as in great matters. It will be seen in his communications regarding Phillis Wheatley (1863 and 1864); in his supplying (1864) the historical associations of an inscribed plate found at Castine, commemorating a Capuchin mission there in 1648, while the late Charles Folsom supplied the philological test; in his comments (1866) on John Wheelwright's Fast Day sermon of 1636-1637; in his paper on Washington's headquarters at Cambridge (September, 1872); in one on the ancient rules of Harvard College (1876); in another on an indenture of David Thomson, a contribution (1876) to the early history of Piscataqua; in his remarks on the genuineness of the Verrazano letter before the Antiquarian Society, in January, 1876; in the part which he took (1877-1878) in the lively controversy over the identity of the belfry where Paul Revere hung his lantern on the eve of the affairs at Lexington and Concord; in his introduction to Dr. Belknap's Journal of his tour (1876); in that to his edition (1878) of the Journal of the President and Council of New Hampshire; in his remarks (1878) on the diary of Henry Flynt, the old college tutor; in his comments (1880) on the petition for a grant of land from Roger Conant in his old age; in his eager recital (1883) about what remains of the old American library of White-Kennett; in his story (1885) of the kidnapping by the old navigator Waymouth in 1605 of Indians on the Maine coast; and in the curious researches which he made to establish the priority of the two editions of the map of New England in Hubbard's History (1887-1888).

No one knew better than Mr. Deane what the perils of

investigation are, and how a tendency to jump at conclusions must be resisted. In reading the reports of some of the papers on anthropology read at a meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, held at Chicago in 1868, his historic sense had been wronged by some of their hasty processes; and he took occasion, in preparing the Report of the Council of the Antiquarian Society in that year, to draw attention to this unsteady tendency. "Men must be trained," he said, "to be careful observers of facts, without which no system can stand. It is natural for the human mind to ask questions and to form theories upon such new facts presented to it, and, indeed, in this way is knowledge increased, and true science finally attained; but the difficulty is that in all investigations of this nature there are those who assume the facts to be proved, and then proceed to construct crude theories upon them." Nor did he undervalue the labor of all good work. I remember how on a visit which I made with him to Plymouth in company with a number of young students, he surprised us all, when we sat in the hotel parlor waiting for our dinner, after we had been the rounds of the sights in the town, by taking from his pocket half a dozen of the little thin tracts illustrating the early history of the Pilgrims, which he had brought from his own shelves. He took them one by one and explained their value, and showed how it was by arduous critical analysis and by comparison of statements that the truth was worked out. He felt that the layman had no conception of this, when he read the finished paper of the historian. He expressed himself upon this point in what he said upon the death of Mr. Frothingham: "Persons not familiar with investigations of this nature are not aware of the amount of labor involved; the mass of documents to be collected, read, and digested,—such as orderly books [he was referring to Mr. Frothingham's particular field of study], letters, depositions, newspapers, old half-effaced records,—from these to sift out the evidence, arrange it, and bring order out of chaos: all this is no ordinary labor." He was also fond of referring to that sort of microscopical inquiry without which sometimes important bibliographical decision could not be reached. He was never quite content with a book that was in any way cardinal in such investigations, unless he could find a copy in the original binding. "Books are

robbed of their integrity," he said at one time; "and those volumes for which the robbery is made, owing to ignorance or indifference, are often supplied with illustrations — maps and plates — which do not belong to them. This is an evil greatly to be deplored, for historical investigation is often thwarted by the existence of such books." He kept a good array of dictionaries and glossaries at his side, and I have known him stop to trace the archaic use of a word upon which some historical elucidation depended. I remember once he took me into his counsels to determine whether the word "church" in a certain connection meant the edifice or the body of worshippers. "Misapprehension and errors arise," he said, "by not paying sufficient attention to the meaning of words and terms as they are found in old books."

His honesty in research was unimpeachable. No matter what his preconceived notions, his local pride, his friendly interest, his national predilections, they all stood for nothing in his quest for the truth. There is a conspicuous example of this kind of historical bravery in the paper — on the Convention of Saratoga, between Gates and Burgoyne, and the way in which the American Congress observed its terms — which he gave to the Antiquarian Society in 1877.

All these traits could but give him the highest position as an historical student with all who had occasion to track him in his work. Mr. Winthrop, in his oration at Plymouth in 1870, did not give him too high praise when he placed him almost above all others, for the light he had thrown upon the early history of New England; and Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., in his editing of Morton's "New English Canaan," while citing a production of Mr. Deane's, is not likely to be criticised for saying that "in dealing with the sources of history it is only permissible to refer to contemporaneous authorities." "Mr. Deane, however," he adds, "so far as New England history is concerned, may fairly be made an exception to this rule. His knowledge is so exhaustive, and his accuracy is so great, that a reference to him I consider just as good and as permissible as a reference to the original authorities."

Mr. Deane was a man of strong friendships, and in his later years he liked to recall his old friends. He looked back upon his intimacy with George Livermore as having almost a for-

mative influence upon him. His intercourse with Mr. Livermore went back to about 1844, and it was one of the earliest of those which he formed on the ground of intellectual sympathies. He was attracted toward his friend, as he afterward recorded, "by his loving and genial nature, his general intelligence, his historical tastes, and his great love for books." For many years he and Mr. Livermore were accustomed to make an annual visit together to the patriarchal Josiah Quincy at his country home; and he speaks, in his memoir of Mr. Livermore (1869), of his friend's "almost romantic admiration for the heroic qualities" of their host.

Mr. Edward A. Crowninshield was another of these early friends; but at his death, in 1859, Mr. Deane failed of an opportunity to acquire some memorial of him from his library, because it was sold as a whole and went to Europe. It was not long, however, before two much desired and extremely rare books returned to this country, and found their way into Mr. Deane's library. These were books that he often showed with satisfaction, — Elder Cushman's Sermon, delivered at Plymouth in 1621; and the 1582 edition of Hakluyt. At a much later date (1880), Mr. Deane wrote a brief memoir of his friend for our Proceedings.

Another early friend was the late Mr. John Russell Bartlett, who was a bookseller in New York, when about 1846 he and Mr. Deane became acquainted. At a later day, when Mr. Bartlett was the custodian of the great Carter-Brown library in Providence, that collection became a new bond of common interest between them.

It was in October, 1849, that Mr. Savage, then President of this Society, welcomed Mr. Deane into the communion of its members. Mr. Savage was then preparing his great Dictionary; and a file of letters among Mr. Deane's papers shows the constancy of the great genealogist's new friend in his efforts to help the elder student in his work. When in March, 1873, Mr. Deane recalled the Society as it was at the time of his becoming a member, of the fifty-eight upon its roll at the time of his own election only eighteen were living at Mr. Savage's death. Mr. Deane, in his remarks on this commemoration of their former president, tersely put his impressions of his old friend and his almost oppressive spirit of accuracy: "He always meant to be right; he always felt that

he was right; he took nothing upon trust." In 1874 he prepared a brief notice of Mr. Savage for the Transactions of the American Academy.

The death of Mr. Haven, in 1881, came very near to Mr. Deane. At a meeting of the Antiquarian Society in October of that year, he spoke more at length of the loss than he was accustomed to do on such occasions. "A feeling of sadness sometimes comes over me at these annual gatherings," he said, "occasioned by the absence from time to time of familiar faces. One by one they vanish, and the places that knew them know them no more. It is now more than twenty-five years since I first began to attend these meetings, having been elected a member here thirty years ago this day; and the Boston members — Mr. Folsom, Mr. Livermore, Mr. Frothingham, and Dr. Shurtleff, all of whom, alas! have passed on — always regarded the 21st of October as a red-letter day in their calendar, and came up hither as on a sacred pilgrimage. For a number of years we always met here, and received a cordial welcome from the venerable Governor Lincoln, Judge Barton, Judge Chapin, Judge Thomas, and others whom I need not name." In 1885 Mr. Deane contributed a memoir of Mr. Haven to the Proceedings of our Society. Of Mr. Frothingham, whom he thus recalled, he had spoken to us on the announcement of his death in February, 1880, and printed a memoir in the "Proceedings" of February, 1885. There were two others of our members of whom Mr. Deane could write with full knowledge; and these were Dr. Appleton, whom he commemorated in 1877, and Dr. Robbins, who claimed the tribute in 1882.

Another Cambridge friend of the days before the war was one in whose labors he and I had a common interest; and he spoke to me more frequently of him, perhaps, than of most others whom he had known in the earlier part of his career, because of my own studies in the same field. This was Dr. Kohl, who did in Cambridge a considerable part of his work on the treatises which he prepared for the Coast Survey touching early discoveries along the American coasts. He had depended not a little, as his work proceeded, on Mr. Deane's encouragement and assistance, and on the help which he derived from the unmatched collection of maps in the College Library. At a later day, when he recalled how the financial troubles of 1857

made the government indisposed to go on with the task of illustrating the early discoveries through Dr. Kohl's instrumentality, he spoke of the good German's distress of mind at being thus checked in his work, and said that his friend returned to Germany almost broken-hearted. "His beautiful maps, some of which I have seen at Washington, are now uncared for; and it is only by a knowledge of these old and useless maps [as he described the originals of Kohl's copies] that the history of geography and discovery can be written." It was by sharing these views of the value of such cartographical records, that while engaged in kindred studies I was brought into conferences about them with Mr. Deane at different times, and finally determined to make an examination of Kohl's work. Mr. Deane had referred to it in a report to the Antiquarian Society in 1860, and he had expressed a hope that the results of Kohl's investigations, as they existed in his elaborate copies of old maps and in the treatises accompanying them, — one of which had come into the possession of that Society, — might not be lost to the world. Later in October, 1869, the same Society sought to initiate measures to induce the government to publish these memorials; but Mr. Deane, knowing how the science of historical cartography had then begun to grow rapidly, and aware, from the correspondence which he kept up with Dr. Kohl, that that gentleman had himself outgrown some of his early studies, urged that nothing should be published till Dr. Kohl had had the opportunity to revise his work. Nothing, however, was done; and in 1878 it became Mr. Deane's duty to speak in his memory at a meeting of this Society, when he read from the last letter which he had received from that German geographer.

Now that no chance of revision was possible by their author, arrangements were made by which the collection of maps in the State Department at Washington was for an interval transferred to the College Library in Cambridge, and I began the study of the charts and the notes attached, which resulted in a published calendar of the collection (1886). Mr. Deane followed me in this labor with much interest; and the maps seemed to him like old friends, reviving his recollections of the days when he used to visit Kohl's studio in Cambridge and watch his labors.

There had been great advances in this comparative study of

historical geography since Dr. Kohl did his work, and it was very apparent, both to me and to Mr. Deane, that while the drawings were still valuable in so far as they preserved maps in European collections which had not been published, the notes which Dr. Kohl had annexed to them needed too much revision to be available for publication. We procured from Worcester the section of the written study of these topics which the Antiquarian Society possessed, and it stood the advanced tests of improved scholarship no better; and it was with some sorrow that Mr. Deane as well as I saw meanwhile that the Coast Survey in 1884 published one of Dr. Kohl's memoirs remaining in their hands. It was an injustice to its author's memory to make known at that time what he had written thirty years before.

Harvard College conferred upon Mr. Deane the degree of Master of Arts in 1856; and when the University celebrated its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary in 1886, and representative men from all parts of the country were called to her festival to receive honor at her hands, Mr. Deane stood up before the assembly, and received from President Eliot the designation of "antiquary and historian, a master among students of American history," while he was made a Doctor of Laws. Bowdoin had conferred the same degree upon him in 1871. As early as 1853 he had been chosen into the Harvard Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society.

Mr. Deane was made a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in October, 1849; and when Mr. Winthrop became President in 1855, he was the chairman of the Standing Committee. It was the dawn of a new life in the Society. "I well remember," he said at a later day, "the time and labor spent in the attempt to bring order out of chaos." He had been on the Publishing Committee earlier, but this year was signalized by his triumph with the manuscript of Bradford. He and the President were instrumental at this time in printing an issue of the proceedings of a single meeting (April 12, 1855); and by so doing they established a prototype for the printed series of such publications, which was not regularly begun till 1858. The Dowse library soon came to our Society; and Mr. Deane was as active in giving a proper arrangement to it as he was in settling the preliminaries of printing the cata-

logue of the Society's library. In 1863 he became chairman of the committee on publishing the Proceedings; and for a series of fourteen years his interest never flagged, and his ripened scholarship permeated nearly all that the Society printed in this form. In the tribute which he paid to Dr. Robbins, he recalled this happy assiduity. "Almost any day at high noon," he said, "we two were quite likely to meet at the rooms, and to be joined by the President and other officers and members, when the interests of the Society were considered, and kindred themes discussed." A new committee in 1878 taking charge, they referred to his labors in saying that "nine volumes issued under his supervision within fourteen years attest his unwearied industry, his scrupulous accuracy, and the soundness of his judgment on historical questions." But his services were not to be dispensed with. He was in April, 1878, named, with the Treasurer of the Society, to prepare the earlier proceedings for publication; and in 1879-1880 the two volumes which completed the monthly record of the Society's activity previous to 1858 were published, showing in their notes and memoirs the useful contributions of the editors in their harmonious labors. In 1884 he did his final service on the Society's Collections, by editing the Trumbull Papers. In June, 1886, he took great pleasure in welcoming the members at his own house in Cambridge; and as a part of the entertainment he laid before them a number of letters of Dr. Priestley addressed to the Hon. George Thacher.

His connection with the American Antiquarian Society was only less intimate than that with the Historical Society. In 1850 he met Mr. Haven, the Secretary of the Society, at Mr. Livermore's house, and they talked together of the rise of the Massachusetts Company, — a subject which Mr. Haven had just illustrated by printing in the Proceedings of the Society the records of that company. It led to a correspondence, and on Oct. 23, 1851, Mr. Deane was chosen a member of the Society. In 1856 he became a member of the Publishing Committee, and never through the rest of his life relaxed his labors in its behalf. In 1860 he made for the first time the report of this committee, in which he gave a review of the manuscript material in the Society's cabinet. In 1865 he became a member of the Council, and in 1880 he succeeded George Bancroft as the Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, holding both

offices till his death. For the last ten years of his life, I was his companion on his visits to Worcester to attend the annual meetings, and he allowed nothing to stand in the way of his pilgrimage.

He was made a member of the London Society of Antiquaries in 1878.

He became promptly a member of the American Historical Association when it was organized at Saratoga in 1884, and he valued the opportunity which he had at its sessions of meeting persons interested in researches kindred to his own, coming from every part of the country. It seemed to broaden his conceptions; and the younger members of the Association will bear testimony to the kindly interest which he never shrank from showing in them.

He was a member of many other American historical societies, — the New England Historic, Genealogical Society (elected in 1845); the Rhode Island Historical Society (1847); the New York Historical Society (1852); the Newport Historical Society (1854); the Wisconsin Historical Society (1856); the Maryland Historical Society (1868); the Long Island Historical Society (1868); the Maine Historical Society (1870); the Virginia Historical Society (1881) and the Essex Institute (1887). He was chosen into the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1866.

Toward the end of his life he began to show that his years had an increasing weight, but he did not relax his interest in his studies. In February, 1888, he drew the attention of the Historical Society to an old tract, William Morrell's "New England, or a brief Enarration," and had intended to edit a reprint of it for the current volume of the Society's Proceedings; but in May, 1889, he had to signify to the Committee that his strength was not equal to it. "His life," said the Committee in their preface in accounting for the failure, "has been full and rich and fruitful during his membership here for nearly half a century." He had already, at the preceding meeting in April, 1889, announced his completion of the last work which he did among the Society's manuscripts, when he gave notice that the Cabinet would not yield sufficient material to constitute a memorial volume respecting the centenary of the Constitution of the United States, then in men's minds. The

meeting when he made this announcement was the last which he attended. His friends, and particularly the Society's librarian, Dr. Green, with his professional eye, saw that a change was upon him. He was urged not to attempt to attend the customary reception at the President's house, and went at once to Cambridge. I saw him a few weeks later, on returning from a journey, and found his interest in the Society still unflagging, and he was eager to listen to a brief recital of my wanderings. He soon became worse, and I saw him but a few times more. He died on the 13th of November, 1889, having just completed his seventy-sixth year; and on the next day the President at a meeting of this Society briefly spoke of the deep shadow which pervaded the room where the presence of their first Vice-President had been so long a beneficent satisfaction.

In October the Council of the Antiquarian Society had passed at their annual meeting resolutions of sympathy and respect, and had sent them to his family. When news reached his Worcester friends of his death, the Council again convened, and after a tribute from the President, Mr. Stephen Salisbury, in which it was observed that Mr. Deane was the sixth in seniority at the time of his death, Senator Hoar spoke of him as the acknowledged chief and arbiter in historical knowledge, and of his great readiness to render aid to others. On December 3, at the house of Mr. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., the Historical Society met to pay their last tribute; and the printed record shows the way in which his old friends and his younger associates united in their affectionate remembrances.



Henry M. Dexter.



1623; who superintended the publication of, and wrote the introduction to, the volume concerning them, which, because of his connection with it, is known as "Mourt's Relation"; and who died in less than a year after reaching Plymouth. Mrs. Dexter was the sister of Gov. Marcus Morton, and was known widely in Southeastern Massachusetts as an educator of young women, and for her eminent culture and piety. Dr. Dexter inherited the interest in the Pilgrims and their work which he exhibited so conspicuously in his later years.

With the exception of one brother, seven years his elder, he was the only child of his parents who survived beyond infancy; and his own health was delicate during his boyhood. He had not many companions. He had access to few books excepting the contents of his father's small library, and most of these had little interest for him. He was fitted for college chiefly at home, his father following the then not uncommon practice of eking out a slender and tardily paid salary by teaching. He entered Brown University in 1836, at the age of only fifteen, and with what he found to be a somewhat imperfect preparation. Among his classmates were George F. Brown, afterward Chief Justice of Rhode Island; William Gaston, since Governor of Massachusetts; Heman Lincoln, later a professor in Brown University; William N. Sage, who became the eminent benefactor of Rochester University; Samuel G. Arnold, and Prof. J. R. Boise.

At the end of the Sophomore year, his brother having decided to study theology at New Haven, Dr. Dexter transferred himself to Yale, where he graduated in 1840. His brother, however, died before reaching New Haven. Among Dr. Dexter's classmates there were Henry Booth, afterward Chancellor of the Law Department of Chicago University; William Chauvenet, later a professor in the United States Naval Academy and the University of St. Louis; George H. Colton, the author of "Tecumseh," and the founder of the "American Whig Review"; Henry M. Goodwin, a professor in Olivet College; Samuel Gregory, the pioneer in promoting the medical education of women; John P. Gulliver, who became president of Knox College, and subsequently a professor in Andover Theological Seminary; Gideon H. Hollister, the historian of Connecticut; James M. Hoppin, afterward a professor in the Yale Theological Seminary and the Yale Art School; Joseph G. Hoyt,

Chancellor of Washington University; Charles R. Ingersoll, since Governor of Connecticut; Gen. Lewis Parsons; George Thacher, who became president of Iowa University; and the late Chief Justice Elias H. Williams, of Iowa. Dr. Dexter was one of the founders of the Yale chapter of the Psi Upsilon fraternity. He took good rank as a scholar at both Brown and Yale.

He had taught school during the summer interval between his leaving Brown and entering Yale, and had partly supported himself by teaching while at New Haven. After graduation he spent a year as principal of the then well-known academy in Rochester, Massachusetts, the home of his paternal grandfather, and afterward entered the Andover Theological Seminary, where he graduated in due course in the summer of 1844. Among his contemporaries and friends at Andover, although they were not all his classmates, were President Samuel C. Bartlett, D.D., of Dartmouth College; President George F. Magoun, D.D., of Iowa College; Prof. W. G. T. Shedd, D.D., of Union Theological Seminary; Rev. Richard S. Storrs, D.D.; and Frederick Vinton, long the librarian of Princeton College. Dr. Dexter was a leader among his associates, and during his Senior year was president of the Porter Rhetorical Society.

As was natural, in view of his ancestry and training, he determined to enter the ministry. At the close of his course at Andover he was elected, as Abbot Resident, to spend a fourth year at the seminary in post-graduate study, but he decided not to remain. The claims of foreign missions influenced him powerfully at this time, but his duty to work in his own land seemed clear. In view of his subsequent eminence as a representative Congregationalist, it is worth noting also that for a while he felt strongly inclined to become an Episcopalian.

On Nov. 6, 1844, he was ordained and installed as the first pastor of the then recently organized church in Manchester, New Hampshire, now known as the Franklin Street Church. To this he gave four and a half years of active and most successful labor. He was also instrumental in accomplishing valuable improvements of the public school system of the city, as well as certain important moral and political reforms. Here, too, he began in a modest way the career of

editorial service to which his later life was so largely devoted. On November 19, immediately after his ordination, he was married to Emeline Palmer, daughter of Simeon Palmer, Esq., of Boston.

On April 18, 1849, he became pastor of the Pine Street Church in Boston, succeeding Dr. Austin Phelps, who had gone to Andover Seminary to be the professor of homiletics. This church, although through no fault or failure of his predecessor, was hampered by internal dissensions, an unfavorable situation, and a heavy debt. He remained its pastor until 1867, more than eighteen years, during which time its differences were harmonized; a new meeting-house, the present Berkeley Street Church, was built in a more desirable locality; a great congregation was gathered, as well as a Sunday-school the largest in New England, at one time numbering more than fourteen hundred members; and notable prosperity in all respects was enjoyed, excepting that the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion so disturbed the financial world that the full payment of the debt had to be long deferred, although every dollar necessary to pay it, as well as to build the proposed edifice, had been pledged before the new house was begun, and chiefly through Dr. Dexter's personal exertions. His pastorate was distinguished by his energetic leadership in efforts, then as uncommon as they now are usual, for the amelioration of the condition of the poor and neglected.

Busy though he was as a minister, he found time for much other usefulness. When, on May 24, 1849, the "Congregationalist" first appeared, in protest against the extreme old-school theological views of the "Boston Recorder," he at once became a special contributor. At this time, too, for some years, he was the Boston correspondent of the New York "Independent." In October, 1851, he joined the editorial staff of the "Congregationalist"; and this connection endured, with a single interval of one year, until his decease. In 1856 the death of one of the proprietors of this journal caused a reconstruction of its official force; and Dr. Dexter assumed the duties of editor-in-chief, although still carrying on vigorously the varied work of his pastorate. In 1865 his neighbor and intimate friend, Rev. A. L. Stone, D.D., of the Park Street Church, removed to San Francisco; and an urgent invitation was given to Dr. Dexter to accompany him and to be-

come editor of the "Pacific," and also president of the new theological seminary at Oakland. But the invitation was declined. His church, however, had become so large as to require its pastor's whole time; and Dr. Dexter therefore severed his connection with the "Congregationalist," and for a little more than one year devoted himself unreservedly to the church.

But in 1867 the California invitation was renewed in several different and pressing forms, and he almost decided to accept. Just then, however, the "Boston Recorder," the principal New England competitor of the "Congregationalist," came into the market; and the owners of the latter journal invited Dr. Dexter to resign his pastorate and devote himself primarily to religious journalism, proposing to purchase the "Boston Recorder," unite it with the "Congregationalist," and make him a co-proprietor and the editor-in-chief of the enlarged journal. This invitation he accepted, and was dismissed from his pastorate on June 28. During the remainder of his life, which lacked only seven months of being a quarter of a century, his principal work was that of an editor. He had most efficient coadjutors, yet it is no disparagement of any one else to say that to him pre-eminently has been due the prominent position of the "Congregationalist" among religious journals ever since he took charge of it.

At this point mention should be made of the clerical protest against the famous Nebraska Bill, which he organized and carried through. When, in 1854, Senator Douglas introduced in Congress this bill, the object of which was to repeal the Missouri Compromise, by which, in 1820, all that part of the United States north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$ had been set apart forever for freedom as opposed to slavery, the gravest alarm naturally was felt by all who were hostile to the slave system. It became evident that at any day this bill might be passed. It was proposed at once — Dr. Dexter could not remember afterward whether Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, or he, or some one else suggested the plan — to try to induce all the ministers of the different Christian bodies in New England to unite in one grand protest against the bill. Mrs. Stowe offered to pay the whole cost if Dr. Dexter would do the work, and he agreed. He drew up the form of words which, after slight modification in conference with other ministers, was

adopted; and the original is among his papers. It is worth noting here that this first draft bears these words, "Hereby, in the name of Almighty God, do protest," suggested as an amendment or addition, in the handwriting of Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D.D., whose volume, "The South Side View," rendered him so unpopular with anti-slavery people.

A copy of this protest, with a blank for signature, was mailed immediately to every minister in New England, about four thousand in all, with a request for a prompt response. A large parchment was prepared on which the protest was engrossed, and the names of twenty-five of the most distinguished ministers of Boston were signed to it. As the signatures of others came in, — nearly all the Protestant ministers responding, — they were appended, duly classified by States and towns. When it had been completed it bore three thousand and fifty names, and "made a formidable yet presentable document, about two hundred feet in length," which, when folded upon itself, "made a pile three feet in length by about the same in height." There still was danger lest the bill be passed in Congress before the protest could be received. Dr. Dexter therefore hastened to Washington with it; and after consultation with Senator Sumner and others, Mr. Appleton, of Boston, then a Representative, was asked to present it in the House, and Mr. Everett in the Senate. They consented, — Mr. Appleton heartily, Mr. Everett with some reluctance, — and it caused an excited debate. It failed of its immediate purpose, and the bill was passed; but the protest undoubtedly did useful service in preparing the public mind, especially in New England, for the conflict which broke out in 1861.

During this year (1854) Dr. Dexter removed his residence to Roxbury, building for himself a pleasant home upon the northern slope of Parker's Hill, overlooking the city. Here he lived for thirteen years, until, in 1867, soon after the death of two daughters, the imperfect health of his wife made a change of abode imperative. For the next six years the family headquarters were determined by temporary convenience; but in 1873 they were established at New Bedford, where he lived thereafter, visiting Boston two or three times a week.

In 1858 he helped to found the "Congregational Quarterly," the suggestion of which came from himself; and he often contributed to its columns. He was also, in 1858, one

of the originators of the Winthrop Club, — a literary and social clerical organization which is still prosperous.

Early in his ministry he began to make special study of the theory and practice of Congregationalism, and to collect and digest results of Congregational ecclesiastical councils. In 1857 he had an experience which contributed largely to increase his interest in, and knowledge of, the Congregational polity. The church in Manchester, Massachusetts, was divided by an internal quarrel, the question at issue being which of the two parties had the rights and powers of the church. Important property interests were at stake, and both sides bound themselves to abide by the decision of an ecclesiastical council. Each party had legal counsel, — Hon. Otis P. Lord representing the pastor, Rev. Rufus Taylor, and his adherents; and Hon. Richard H. Dana their opponents. When the council had assembled, it appeared that neither Mr. Lord nor Mr. Dana could be present. The council objected to going home without having accomplished anything; and Mr. Ives, of Salem, was secured immediately in Mr. Lord's place, but no substitute for Mr. Dana could be found. It was then agreed that those whom he had been expected to serve might select some member of the council to present their side of the case, and Dr. Dexter was chosen. The council adjourned until morning, and he spent most of the night in preparation. When Mr. Dana's brief reached him, about midnight, he saw at once that it revealed an unfamiliarity with Congregational principles and practices which rendered an adverse decision almost inevitable. He at once gave the committee representing the side for which he was to appear its choice to allow him either to withdraw or to do the work in his own way. It finally, although reluctantly, put the matter absolutely into his hands. He never had examined a witness before, and he had a shrewd, experienced lawyer opposed to him. But after another session of the council, which continued for twenty-three hours, with only brief intervals for meals, during which period he did not leave the church premises, the verdict was rendered in the precise form for which he had argued. He records in this connection the reception soon after of a most kindly letter on the subject from Mr. Dana.

From this time he began to be regarded and consulted as an expert in Congregationalism, — especially after his work on

that subject was published in 1865, — and during the remainder of his life he served on scores of ecclesiastical councils in different parts of our country, and he received and answered on the average more than one letter a day asking advice about matters of church government or usage. The only remuneration which he used to accept was the occasional payment of his travelling expenses when a journey had been necessary. In 1880 he prepared a "Handbook of Congregationalism," based upon his volume of 1865; and both remain in demand as conceded standards. He was a prominent member of the National Council of Congregational Churches held in Boston in 1865, and was its chief secretary.

His interest in historical research was almost, if not actually, as keen as his enthusiasm for Congregationalism, and he was recognized as an authority upon Pilgrim and early colonial subjects. From his youth he devoted much time to the study of the movement which resulted in the Plymouth Colony; the personal histories and characters of the members of the Pilgrim company; the conditions of religious, ecclesiastical, and social life in Great Britain and Holland which shaped their career; and all other themes in any manner connected therewith. In repeated personal visits to England and Holland — where he formed many warm friendships, especially among historical scholars and representatives of widely differing branches of the Christian Church — he made the most searching investigations of localities, records, and all other possible sources of information; and, as the result, he accumulated a considerable body of material concerning them, and was enabled to correct some misapprehensions, and to add to the trustworthy knowledge of them previously possessed. It has been said of him, and with reason, that no one else has ever mastered this important department of history so thoroughly as he.

In 1869 his zeal in this direction took practical form in a proposition for the observance in 1870 by the Congregational churches of the United States of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the advent of the Pilgrims upon these Western shores. At his suggestion the church in Plymouth took the initiative in formal action; and, by agreement of eminent Congregationalists representing different portions of the country, it was decided to hold commemorative celebrations in

April at Chicago, in connection with the Triennial Convention of the Congregational Churches of the Northwest, and on December 21, the anniversary of the landing at Plymouth, in Boston. All Congregational ministers were urged to preach occasionally during the year on the principles with which the Pilgrims were specially identified; and an effort was proposed, and was made with some success, to raise money for the better endowment of Congregational theological seminaries and kindred objects. Dr. Dexter was among the most active in carrying out the various undertakings of the year; and an important result was a more intelligent loyalty on the part of Congregationalists throughout the country to the Pilgrims and their principles.

In 1877 he delivered the Southworth Lectures at the Andover Theological Seminary on "The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as Seen in its Literature." These lectures, some of which were also delivered before other institutions, subsequently were published—including, in an appendix, a bibliography containing 7,250 titles—in a volume the value of which has been recognized abroad as well as here. It may be added appropriately that he left, at his death, the nearly finished first manuscript of a work upon which he had been engaged for many years, to be entitled "A Study of the English and Dutch Life of the Plymouth Men." This is being completed and edited for publication by his friend and relative, Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, of Yale University, and his son, Rev. Morton Dexter, of Boston.

In 1880 Dr. Dexter was moderator of the Triennial National Council of Congregational Churches, which met at St. Louis. In 1881 he was elected a corporate member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and also one of the twenty-five members of the Commission recommended by the National Council for the drawing up of a new creed. In 1884 he was appointed by the American Home Missionary Society to be one of a committee of four to visit Norway and Sweden in response to overtures from certain eminent Scandinavians who had organized what practically are Congregational churches, and who desired information about American Congregationalists, and fellowship with them; and in company with his friend Prof. George E. Day, he visited those countries in the course of the following summer.

At about this time he was concerned for several years in what is known as the "Andover Controversy." Early in 1882 he felt obliged to object, through the columns of his journal, to the choice which had been made for the then vacant chair of theology in the Andover Seminary, because of the apparent inconsistency of certain published opinions of the candidate with the creed believed to have been made absolute by the founders; and the appointment failed to be confirmed by the Board of Visitors of the Seminary. At about the end of 1886 the same theological views had been avowed so frankly by some of the professors at Andover that public sentiment throughout a large part of the Congregational denomination began to call for formal action against these gentlemen, — not as denying to them as Christian men the right to hold and teach these special opinions, but because it was believed that, in view of peculiar limitations existing at Andover, they ought not to retain their chairs in that institution while holding and teaching these opinions. One of the Trustees declared his purpose of appealing to the Board of Visitors to take active cognizance of the existing state of things; and, as the result of long and wide-reaching conference among leading Congregationalists, Dr. Dexter was urged to unite with him and others in making this appeal. Dr. Dexter believed that the Visitors ought voluntarily to take whatever action, if any, might be necessary; but as they refused to act unless formally called upon, he consented to unite in the appeal. Charges were formulated against several of the professors. The Visitors held public hearings; their finding was adverse to one professor. The matter, somewhat complicated by action of the other Trustees, was brought before the Supreme Court of this State; and the decision recently announced — perhaps the only one likely to be reached — has left the real issue undetermined.

Dr. Dexter, although credited by some who did not know him well with a fondness for controversial discussion which was wholly foreign to his nature, — an error due probably to the evident fact that when clear as to his duty he was decided in maintaining any cause which he had espoused, — deeply regretted from the first that so painful a course seemed marked out for him in this matter. He was absolutely conscientious in his action, and he so conducted himself as to retain the respect and regard of most of those who differed

radically from his positions. Nothing else would have gratified and touched him so keenly among the scores of tributes paid to him after his death, nothing else did please him so much during the progress of this controversy and during the more tranquil years which followed it before he died, as the many expressions of esteem and affection given him by men who had disputed his positions with an earnestness equal to his own. The essential fairness of his nature was rendered conspicuous by his largely successful endeavors during his last years to prevent injustice to some who, although they did not hold his views upon the same or other theological questions, stood in opinion where he claimed that they had a perfect right to stand.

Dr. Dexter was appointed in 1890 one of the delegates to represent the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States in the International Congregational Council which met in London in July of the present year. This, the first such gathering ever held by Congregationalists, had its origin in a conversation between Rev. Dr. Alexander Hannay, of London, and himself in 1880; and when his intimate friend, Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, proved unable to accept the appointment to preach the opening sermon at this Council, — an honor which was to be assigned to some American delegate, — Dr. Dexter was chosen unanimously, with the single exception of his own vote, on Nov. 10, 1890, to perform that service. But on the morning of November 13 he was found dead in his bed, having passed away instantly and painlessly in his sleep. He was aged sixty-nine years and three months. His funeral service was held on November 15 in his former church in Boston, now called the Berkeley Temple, and was attended by a large company, including many eminent scholars and clergymen of all denominations. He was buried in the Forest Hills Cemetery, where his wife was laid beside him hardly more than three months later. Their three daughters died in infancy or childhood; they left one son.

Dr. Dexter was chosen a Resident Member of this Society in 1869, and during the same year he became a member of the American Antiquarian Society. He also belonged to the New England Historic Genealogical Society, to the Old Colony Historical Society, and, as an honorary member, to the Long Island Historical Society; and was an original member of the

American Historical Association, and of the American Society of Church History. For many years he was also a member and a director of the American Congregational Association, which he served for several years as its secretary. He was especially active in securing for it the present Congregational House in this city, and in the movement now in progress to erect for it a new and more modern building. He also did long and efficient service as the chairman of its Library Committee.

In 1865 he, with his friend Prof. G. E. Day, D.D., caused the site of the dwelling of John Robinson, the Pilgrim pastor, in Leyden, Holland, to be indicated by a stone suitably inscribed. He also was a member and until his death the chairman of the committee appointed in 1877 by the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States to superintend the erection in Leyden of a memorial of Robinson. This, in the form of a bronze tablet on the outside of St. Peter's Church, was dedicated on July 24, 1891. Its inscription was composed by Dr. Dexter.

He received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Iowa College in 1865. Yale University conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Sacred Theology in 1880, and in 1890 that of Doctor of Laws. He is the only man to whom Yale has given both of these degrees. Throughout his life he maintained unusually close relations with both his Brown and his Yale classmates. He rarely failed to be present at their reunions, and in the summer of 1890 he attended the semi-centennial gathering of each class.

Dr. Dexter was six feet and one inch in height, and was of large build and commanding presence. He always was interested in out-of-door sports and exercises, and in his early manhood was somewhat distinguished as an athlete. He was remarkable for his happy disposition and his keen sense of humor, and was a most enjoyable companion. His life was symmetrical and fruitful in an eminent degree. He was well read in English literature. He never paid serious attention to poetical composition, yet several of his translations and original hymns have found their way into popular collections. He was a good classical scholar; and ordinarily he read Latin, classic Greek, and New Testament Greek daily. He did not converse easily in other modern languages than his own, but

he read several with some facility. He was an indefatigable and thorough student of history, his work being conspicuous for painstaking accuracy. He possessed a graphic literary style, in which there sometimes appeared a certain quaintness, — probably due to his intimacy with ancient authors, — but which always was clear and vigorous, and sometimes strikingly beautiful.

As a preacher and public speaker, he was in constant demand, and more than ever in his last years. He was a wise, sympathetic, and tenderly beloved pastor. As a theologian, he was open to all new truth, yet disposed to require ample evidence that it was actual truth. As an exponent of the polity of the Congregational body, he had no superior. As an editor, he was versatile, sagacious, fearless, in close touch with his times, and skilled in obtaining from others the best work of which they were capable. It has been given to few men to labor in so many different departments of service, and to achieve in each so large a measure of conceded success. His life abounded in unostentatious charities and acts of helpfulness, especially to young men. He was “a man full of faith and of the Holy Ghost.”

He accumulated a large, well-selected library, including a special and probably unequalled collection of publications and manuscripts relating to the Pilgrims and the early history of the New England colonies. This particular collection, in which are many rare and valuable volumes, he bequeathed to Yale University.

His editorials, magazine articles, and other minor publications would fill many volumes. The following list includes his most important works:—

Street Thoughts. 1859. pp. 216.

Twelve Discourses. 1860. pp. 219.

The Verdict of Reason. 1865. pp. 157.

Congregationalism: What it is, Whence it is, and How it Works. 1865. pp. 306.

A Glance at the Ecclesiastical Councils of New England. 1867. pp. 68.

The Church Polity of the Pilgrims the Polity of the New Testament. 1870. pp. 82.

Pilgrim Memoranda. 1870. pp. 40.

As to Roger Williams. 1876. pp. 141.

The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as Seen in its Literature. With a Bibliography. 1880. pp. 716.

The True Story of John Smyth, the Se-Baptist. 1880. pp. 86.

A Handbook of Congregationalism. 1880. pp. 212.

Common Sense as to Woman Suffrage. 1885. pp. 33.

Early English Exiles in Amsterdam. 1890. pp. 25.

Elder Brewster's Library. 1890. pp. 51.

The last two were prepared originally for this Society, and were printed in its Proceedings.

Dr. Dexter also edited (1865-1867) new editions of "Mourt's Relation, or Journal of the Plantation at Plymouth," originally prepared for publication by George Morton; "The History of King Philip's War," by Benjamin Church; and "The History of the Eastern Expeditions," by the same author.

MEMOIR
OF
CHARLES DEVENS, LL.D.

BY JOHN C. ROPES.

To no man of this generation more fully than to Charles Devens can be paid the honor due to faithful and honorable public service. Devotion to the State, obedience to the call of his country, — these were his conspicuous traits. His service was ungrudging. When the war came, he freely stepped forward. He was at the front in some of the bloodiest and most obstinate of the Virginia battles. His public life was long, distinguished, and absolutely unblemished. No cloud ever rested for a moment upon his fair fame. His honors were won by no devious methods, by no unworthy concessions. His ambition was lofty, and it was disinterested. It was, moreover, successful. The confidence of the public rewarded his unmistakable devotion to the public good. The whole community rejoiced to do him honor. Many men in our day have won public attention and sometimes public gratitude by advocating great changes, by heading great reforms, or by being inseparably connected with the controversies of the day, moral, political, or religious; but Charles Devens was not one of these. He was simply a good citizen, a brave soldier, an upright magistrate, a true patriot.

He was born at No. 30 Union Street, Charlestown, now a part of Boston, on April 4, 1820. He was a son of Charles and Mary (Lithgow) Devens. His mother was the daughter of Col. Arthur Lithgow, of Augusta, Maine. His great-grandfather, Richard Devens, was a member of the Committee of Safety and Commissary-General of Massachusetts during the Revolution.





He was graduated at Harvard College in 1838 at the early age of eighteen, James Russell Lowell and William W. Story being among his classmates. He studied law at the Harvard Law School, and received the degree of LL.B. in 1840, in company with the late Chief Justice Morton. He pursued his studies in the office of William J. Hubbard and Francis O. Watts in Boston, and in 1841 was admitted to the bar.

For some years he practised in Franklin County, residing first at Northfield and afterwards at Greenfield. In the years 1848 and 1849 he represented his district in the State Senate. When the Whigs came into power by the election of General Taylor, Mr. Devens was made United States Marshal for the District of Massachusetts, an office which he held for the four years between 1849 and 1853.

It was during this time that the Fugitive Slave Bill was passed, as part of the "Compromise Measures of 1850"; and it became on one occasion Mr. Devens's painful duty to make the necessary arrangements for the return of a fugitive. One Sims, a slave belonging in Georgia, escaped to Boston in April, 1851. The United States Commissioner under the recent Act heard the case, decided it in favor of the claim of the owner, and directed the United States Marshal to escort the prisoner to the vessel on which he was to be transported back to Georgia. The legal duty thus imposed upon the Marshal was without exception the most repulsive which could by any possibility fall to his lot. A poor slave, who had presumably made his escape either because his fate was exceptionally hard or because his love of liberty was exceptionally strong, was to be refused an asylum in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and sent back to slavery. It was against all the natural sympathies of the human heart, contrary to the humane and tolerant spirit of this community, opposed indeed to the natural sense of justice, certainly as we in Massachusetts had for nearly a century recognized it, that this poor black should be sent back to his former helpless and hopeless condition of servitude. No one could wish to have any part in such an action. Its morality depended on the relative weight which a right-minded, public-spirited, and humane citizen would assign to the considerations which have just been stated as contrasted with the obligations resting upon all good citizens, and especially upon those who have assumed the duties

of public office, to execute the laws of the land. Fortunately for this community and for the cause of good government, Marshal Devens decided in favor of the paramount and superior authority of the obligations which rested upon him as an officer of the law; and in face of the unpopularity and misconstruction of motives and personal abuse in which his action was sure to involve him, he acted with vigor and decision. That he should have so fully and satisfactorily met such a perplexing and trying emergency at the early age of thirty-one, argued well for his future as a public servant.

While, however, Mr. Devens was determined to do his duty as an officer of the law, he spared no pains to ransom its unfortunate victim. He set on foot negotiations for the purchase of Sims, which, though not successful, failed through no fault of his. No one could feel more keenly than he the pain of participating, even in an official capacity, in the wretched task of surrendering a fugitive slave.

When the Whig administration of Mr. Fillmore was succeeded by the Democratic administration of Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Devens returned to the practice of the law, — this time in Worcester, and in partnership with Mr. George F. Hoar, now one of the Senators from Massachusetts.

In April, 1861, upon the first call of President Lincoln for troops, Mr. Devens accepted the command, as Major, of the Third Battalion of Rifles of the Massachusetts militia. While in command of this battalion at Fort McHenry near Baltimore, he was offered by Governor Andrew and accepted the commission of Colonel of the Fifteenth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteers, — a Worcester County Regiment, and one of the best sent out by the State. It was immediately incorporated into the Army of the Potomac. In the unfortunate affair of Ball's Bluff, on Oct. 21, 1861, this regiment, under command of Colonel Devens, crossed the river, and took its part with a portion of the Twentieth Massachusetts and other troops in one of the most obstinate and bloody encounters of the war. Here Devens distinguished himself for gallantry and coolness. He was slightly wounded, and finally had to swim the river to Harrison's Island.

He was soon afterward made a Brigadier-General of Volunteers, and assigned to the command of an excellent brigade, consisting of the Seventh and Tenth Massachusetts, the Sec-

ond Rhode Island, and the Thirty-Sixth New York, to which in September, 1862, the Thirty-Seventh Massachusetts was added. This force formed a part of Couch's division of the Fourth Corps, which was then under the command of General Keyes. This corps and the Third, under General Heintzelman, were thrown across the Chickahominy in the latter part of May, 1862, thus constituting the advance of the army. On these two corps the Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston concentrated his forces, hoping to overwhelm them before the remainder of the army could be brought over the treacherous bridges of the Chickahominy to their assistance. On the 31st of May the blow fell; and in spite of an obstinate and courageous defence, our troops were slowly forced back until the enemy's strength became exhausted, and our reinforcements under the gallant Sumner and Sedgwick appeared on the field. In this severe action General Devens won new laurels. "With only two regiments," says General Couch in his official report, "he held his own firmly. . . . Severely wounded, he remained bravely on the field until the last shot was fired."

General Devens's wound prevented his taking part in the Seven Days' Battles near Richmond, at the close of which our army took up early in July a strong position at Harrison's Landing on the James. In September the army was removed to the neighborhood of Washington, and under General McClellan fought the bloody battle of Antietam, which brought Lee's invasion of Maryland to a sudden and unsuccessful termination. In these operations Couch's division was not actively engaged; it reached the field of Antietam late in the forenoon of the 18th, the day after the battle.

In the autumn of 1862 this division, now no longer under Couch, who had been promoted to the command of the Second Corps, was transferred to the Sixth Corps, then under Franklin; and when that officer was assigned to the command of the Left Grand Division of the Army of the Potomac, — a change made by Burnside, who in November replaced McClellan in command of the army, — the Sixth Corps was placed under Gen. William F. Smith, and the division was assigned to Gen. John Newton.

In the movement upon Fredericksburg, on Dec. 11, 1862, the Sixth Corps crossed the Rappahannock below the town. Devens's brigade led the advance; and when, owing to the

lateness of the hour, it was thought best to retire all the troops but one brigade, it was that of General Devens which General Newton selected to hold the bridges on the enemy's side of the river during the night. So when on the 15th, after the loss of the main battle, the Sixth Corps was withdrawn to the north bank of the river, it was again Devens who requested and was given the honor of covering with his brigade the recrossing of the troops.

In these operations Devens won the high commendation of his superiors. "General Devens and Colonel Torbert," says General Smith in his report, "deserve especial mention for the promptitude and precision with which they formed their lines to cover the crossing." "My obligations," says General Newton, "are due . . . especially to Brig.-Gen. Charles Devens, who commanded the advance and rear guard in the crossing and recrossing of the river."

But war has its cruel surprises for the bravest and steadiest of soldiers. Promoted to the command of a division in the Eleventh Corps under General Howard, it was General Devens's lot to hold the extreme right of our line at Chancellorsville. The Army of the Potomac, under General Hooker, had crossed the Rappahannock above Fredericksburg in the last days of April, 1863, had advanced some miles towards that city on the first of May, had then unwisely and unaccountably been ordered to fall back into the dense woods from which it had just emerged, and had taken up a position facing east and south, with its headquarters at the Chancellor house. This position was at once intrenched and rendered formidable on its southern face.

General Lee, whose army certainly was not more than half as strong as that of his opponent, could hardly venture on a direct attack; yet he felt that the situation was one of extreme gravity. There was no telling how large a force the Federals could concentrate, nor when it might suit them to take the offensive in good earnest. It was of extreme importance to drive them at once to recross the river. Hence he listened willingly to the daring and brilliant proposal of Stonewall Jackson, his favorite lieutenant, that he should march around the front of our army and fall upon it from the westward. They had correctly surmised that no attack from this quarter would be expected by our generals. The march of

Jackson's column was indeed discovered ; but although at half-past nine in the morning Hooker ordered Howard to strengthen his right flank, so as to be prepared to resist an attack from that direction, should any be made, there can be no doubt whatever that the movement was thought by Hooker, and by Howard also, to be a movement in retreat. Troops were sent out from the main line to harass and annoy the flying foe. One brigade, that of Barlow, was even taken by Hooker from another division of Howard's command to support this attack. But Jackson was not to be diverted from his purpose. In the latter part of the afternoon of Saturday, May 2, he attained a position west of the Eleventh Corps line, and, facing to the east, advanced in line of battle on its exposed flank. Devens had indeed placed a couple of regiments and a section of artillery to repel an assault from this quarter, should any be made. Much more than this he no doubt would have done, had he been in command of the corps. It seems certain¹ that he early in the day suspected the real character of the enemy's movement ; but the information which raised these suspicions in his mind, although transmitted promptly to corps headquarters, failed to elicit any order for him to change his dispositions. Had he possessed greater military sagacity or wider military experience, and so been able to divine the object of the enemy, or had the information which he received made a greater impression on his mind, — in fine, we may fairly say, had he dared to take the responsibility of changing the dispositions of his division, — he might at least have rendered the impending disaster less overwhelming. But General Devens was not a military man by education, nor was he a military genius ; he had had very little experience in the field ; he was commanding a division for the first time ; he was directly under the eye of his corps commander, — a regular officer, to whom he had transmitted all the information he had received, and on whom it evidently made no impression whatever. Lastly, the withdrawal of Barlow's brigade by Hooker's express order during the afternoon must have convinced Devens that the general commanding the army looked at the whole matter as not deserving serious attention.

The greater part of his division was facing south. It con-

¹ See his testimony before the Committee on the Conduct of the War (Report 1865, vol. i. p. 179).

stituted the prolongation of the front of the army towards the west. Without orders Devens did not feel justified in stripping a portion of what was considered by his superiors as the main line of battle. He did, as we have seen, make some dispositions for defending his right flank; but all the dispositions that he could have made on his own responsibility would have been wholly inadequate to the needs of the occasion. At six o'clock in the afternoon the storm broke, and in a few minutes comparatively his whole division was routed. He himself, wounded severely in the foot, unable to remount his horse, remained with his unfortunate command to the last, gallantly striving to rally the troops, and to interpose to the victorious advance of the Confederates an obstinate even if an ineffectual resistance. His efforts, as might have been expected, were unavailing. The rout of the Eleventh Corps, badly posted and outnumbered as it was, was complete; but Devens did all that a brave man and a gallant officer could do to retrieve the fortunes of the fight.

His wound, which was a serious one, was not cured when his division was again flanked and routed in the bloody battle of Gettysburg. In fact, he never rejoined it after Chancellorsville; and the next time we see him in the field it is at the head of the Third Division of the Eighteenth Corps, then under Devens's former commander, Gen. William F. Smith. That officer, who, with General Gillmore, had been serving under General Butler on the James River in the latter's ill-planned and unsuccessful movements directed upon Richmond from Bermuda Hundred, was in the latter part of May, 1864, ordered to join the Army of the Potomac with a force of about sixteen thousand men. The Army of the Potomac, after a series of bloody and indecisive battles at the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, and the North Anna, was then about to cross the Pamunkey. Smith, when he arrived, was ordered to Cold Harbor, where his command at first took up a position between the Fifth and Sixth corps. On the afternoon of the 1st of June an assault on the enemy's lines was made. "The Third Division, under the command of Brig.-Gen. Charles Devens, consisting of the brigades of Colonel Drake and Colonel Barton," says General Smith, in his despatch of the 2d of June, "charged across an open field, 1,250 yards in width, swept by a cross-fire of the enemy's artillery, carried

the edge of the woods, and drove the enemy from their intrenchments, which were protected by slashings and entanglements, taking some 250 prisoners." In the general assault along the whole line, known as the battle of Cold Harbor, which was made on the morning of the 3d of June, "General Devens's command," says General Smith, in his formal report, "held my right flank, and had been so much cut up in officers and men during the two days previous that I did not deem it in condition to do more than act on the defensive." In his article in the work entitled "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," published by the Century Company, General Smith explains (p. 225) that "a gap of nearly two miles between the right of the Eighteenth Corps and the left of the Fifth Corps under Warren made it necessary to throw back the right flank of the [Eighteenth] Corps, to hold the open plain and roads, and to prevent that flank from being turned. This necessarily put the division on the right quite out of the battle, except in the use of its artillery at rather long range. . . . The plan adopted gave to Devens, with his division, the duty of keeping the right flank secure." This task General Devens faithfully performed, although suffering so severely from rheumatism that he was obliged to ask for leave of absence. On June 4, "General Devens," says Smith, in his report, "who had done duty during the 3d, and [had been] carried about on a stretcher, was relieved, on account of his health, by General Ames."

On recovering from this illness, General Devens returned with alacrity to duty, this time as commanding the Third Division of the Twenty-fourth Corps, under General Gibbon, which constituted a part of the Army of the James, under General Ord. On the 27th of March, 1865, the final campaign began. The greater part of the Twenty-fourth Corps, together with other troops from the Army of the James, took the field, to act in conjunction with the Army of the Potomac. Devens's division remained in the works; and by a great piece of good fortune it fell to him to lead the first Federal troops into the capital of the Southern Confederacy. Early in the morning of the 3d of April the Federal forces under General Weitzel, the commander of the Twenty-fifth Corps, entered the city; and the division of Devens led in this triumphant march.

We have been somewhat particular in giving the details of General Devens's military services, because they are presumably less well remembered by the public of the present day than his long and honorable career on the bench. But it is well that it should be known that he was no holiday soldier. He took his full share of fatigue, of responsibility, of danger. His merits were, as we have seen, recognized by all his superior officers; and we may add that it was at the request of General Grant that he received his brevet of Major-General of Volunteers for gallant and meritorious conduct.

He continued in the service for about a year after the cessation of hostilities, being for the greater part of that time in command of the Federal troops in South Carolina. In 1866 he was mustered out of service.

He at once returned to Boston to resume the practice of the law; but in 1867 Governor Bullock appointed him to the bench of the Superior Court. Here he served about six years, when he was promoted by Governor Washburn to a seat upon the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court. For about four years he filled this position to the great satisfaction of the community.

In March, 1877, President Hayes offered him a place in his cabinet,—that of Attorney-General of the United States. It is an open secret that Judge Devens hesitated seriously before accepting this offer. He was nearly fifty-seven years of age; he occupied a seat on the highest judicial bench in his own State; he would have no right to claim or expect a restoration to this position on his return from Washington, and he would then be almost too old to resume practice at the bar. Nor would his private means, without a professional income, furnish him a sufficient support. Moreover, he had been away from home for five years, and he much preferred living in Massachusetts to a residence far away from his friends and his own people. But the request of the President seemed like a call of duty, and he went. The tasks of his office, though new to him, were of course in the general line of his professional experience, and he discharged them to the evident satisfaction of the government. His life in Washington naturally brought him in contact with many of the distinguished men of the country,—the men who had won our victories in the late war, and who had, in or out of Mr. Lincoln's cabinet,

shown statesmanship and ability. For society of this kind, and in fact for general society of every kind, General Devens was eminently fitted; and doubtless he enjoyed to the full all the opportunities of this nature which Washington official life so richly offers.

He returned to Massachusetts at the close of Mr. Hayes's administration; and in April, 1881, he was reappointed to the Supreme Judicial Court by Governor Long, and on that bench he sat until removed by death.

General Devens's health had always been of the best. Even the harsh experience of the war, although endured long after the elasticity of youth had passed away,—for he was forty-one years old when the war broke out,—failed to make any impression on his vigorous constitution. He was always able to get through his official work as a judge without worry; and his evenness of temper and habitual command of a good working philosophy of daily life seemed to preserve him from the annoyances and trials which beset most men who do their fair share of work in this world. No change was visible in him until perhaps a year before his death, when he sometimes complained of not feeling as strong and well as usual, or, to be more accurate, quietly mentioned the fact to his more intimate friends; but he made no alteration in his daily life. He went as constantly to his accustomed seat on the bench, to his habitual chair at his club; he was to be seen as often at the houses of his friends. In the latter part of December, 1890, however, he grew suddenly weaker; it was feared that there was something wrong about the action of the heart; still no immediate consequences were apprehended. He apparently did not suffer, and there was little in his condition to indicate a serious illness; but he was in reality rapidly nearing the end, and on the afternoon of Wednesday, Jan. 7, 1891, he died. His nephew, Mr. Arthur Lithgow Devens, and others of his relatives were present at the last. His death was sudden and without pain, just as he would have wished it to be.

He was buried from Trinity Church, Boston, on Saturday, Jan. 10, 1891, with military honors. The coffin was borne by eight non-commissioned officers of the Second United States Artillery. The military escort consisted of detachments of the First Regiment Massachusetts Volunteer Militia and of Batteries B and D, Second United States Artillery. The

Military Order of the Loyal Legion, of which General Devens had for years been the Commander, attended in force. The bench and the bar were largely represented, Chief Justice Field being one of the pall-bearers. The church was crowded. The burial-service was read by the Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D. While the coffin was being carried from the church, "taps" were sounded from various parts of the building, and Sullivan's "Lost Chord" was played on the bugle. The remains were interred in the family lot in Mount Auburn Cemetery.

The life which we have just sketched was an unusually honorable, useful, and happy life. Few men have ever lived who were better fitted to discharge the ordinary tasks which belonged to public office — whether civil or military — than was Charles Devens. He brought to their accomplishment, in the first place, an honest, courageous, and unreserved purpose to do his duty, and in the second place, sound judgment, great tact, and good administrative ability. His duties, it is true, did not lie in the highest regions of the public service. He never commanded an army, or even an army corps. He was an Associate Justice only of the Supreme Judicial Court. Nor did he ever strongly desire the greater responsibilities or the more conspicuous opportunities of distinction which the chief control alone affords. His ambition, though a strong and an honorable ambition, was under the strict rule of his judgment. He never thought of himself more highly than he ought to have thought. He correctly estimated his own powers and his own attainments. That which he knew himself capable of doing he was honorably anxious to do. His standard was high. His work was done thoroughly and effectively, and with a masculine strength and sobriety that won general admiration.

He was, on the whole, satisfied with his career. It afforded to his peculiar powers and faculties excellent opportunities for exercise, growth, and successful activity.

As an officer of the army, he rose by gradual steps and by his own merits as high as most of those who had had no professional training in the art of war, — leaving out of the comparison, of course, the two major-generals from this State whom President Lincoln commissioned almost before the first shot had been fired. Devens's promotions in the army were all deserved. His services, though equalled no doubt by those

of many others, and not especially conspicuous, were the services of a brave, faithful, and competent officer.

To his duties as a judge he brought a mind characterized by strong common-sense and actuated by an equally strong love of justice. He moreover carried with him always the recollection that a judge is, first of all, a magistrate, whose office it is to decide controversies and disputes according to the well-established principles of the law of the land; and he never lost sight of this fundamental conception of duty. He never used the opportunities which a case presented for the purpose of displaying his own acumen or learning. He kept the main end of the law always plainly before his eyes. He was always serious, candid, willing to hear, able to defer making up his mind until the case had been fully presented. He never aimed at showing himself able to comprehend a tangled question merely by glancing at the pleadings. Though, always preserving fully the dignity of his station, he was invariably courteous. It was a pleasure to go before him. He did not possess or pretend to possess deep or varied learning, but he made up for this lack in great part by his long experience and his remarkable ability to understand human nature. His mind was not specially acute or deep; but his rare common-sense, his unfailing patience, and his strong desire to possess himself of the facts and law of every cause that he was called upon to hear rendered him one of the most useful judges that have sat on the Supreme Bench in our time.

It was, however, as an orator that General Devens gained his greatest distinction. Of commanding presence and fine figure, a notably handsome man at all periods of his life, possessed of a strong and flexible voice, he had all the external graces and gifts of a public speaker; but these were the least of his qualifications. He was a master in the art of weaving an oration out of the facts and associations of a famous historical event, out of the strong and heroic qualities of a great man. He invariably rose to the full height of his subject, whatever it was; and he always carried his audience with him. He knew instinctively how to reach their hearts. His very presence attracted them. His language, strong though restrained; his evident deep feeling, kept always sufficiently in check, but yet by degrees infusing itself into the minds of his hearers; his ability to seize on the telling points of the topic to which

he was addressing himself, and his evident sincerity and patriotic fervor, — constituted him one of the most brilliant and effective of our public orators. The events and men of the Revolution and of the Civil War were his principal themes; but his reverence and affection for his Alma Mater made him on many occasions, and notably on that of the celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Harvard College, not, to be sure, the chosen representative of her literary eminence, but the one to preside over her alumni and to be her spokesman to the outer world. On these occasions he was always felicitous, always in touch with both the College and the public, always and unmistakably successful.

Judge Devens was never married; but “he lavished on his relatives,” as a lifelong friend of his has said, “the love he would have given to wife and children.” He was a devoted son and brother. His younger relatives were very near and dear to him; yet he was eminently a man among men. His acquaintance was very large. He was a man of many friends; he was always urbane, kindly, tolerant, attractive. His attachments to those whom he honored with his friendship were strong and unchanging. He was a good talker, and possessed a delightful sense of humor, which enabled him to gather from his varied experiences many most amusing stories; for though he was a man who took life seriously, there was always a wholesome and cheerful tone about his ways and his conversation.

His orations and addresses deserve, it is believed, a permanent place in the historical literature of Massachusetts. The Centennial Address on the Battle of Bunker Hill, the Oration before the Army of the Potomac on General Meade, and the Worcester Oration on General Grant are certainly in this category. But perhaps nothing that he ever said was finer than the brief address to his men after their first battle. We take the following account from the New York “Herald” of Oct. 30, 1861; and with this most fit and eloquent appeal we bring this memoir to a close: —

“After parade the regiment was formed in square, and their noble and gallant Colonel Devens made them an address, to which even a faithful verbal report would do injustice; for no description could reproduce the tender, subdued fervor with which the Colonel first spoke, the

electric sympathy by which his men were affected, or the earnest determination with which the question was asked and answered.

“ ‘Soldiers of Massachusetts, men of Worcester County, with these fearful gaps in your lines, with the recollection of the terrible struggle of Monday fresh upon your thoughts, with the knowledge of the bereaved and soul-stricken ones at home, weeping for those whom they will see no more on earth, with that hospital before your eyes filled with wounded and maimed comrades, I ask you now whether you are ready again to meet the traitorous foe who are endeavoring to subvert our government, and who are crushing under the iron heel of despotism the liberties of a part of our country. Would you go next week? Would you go to-morrow? Would you go this moment?’ And one hearty ‘Yes’ burst from every lip.”

DECEMBER MEETING, 1891.

A STATED meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library since the November meeting, the PRESIDENT said :—

I have had committed to me by the author, Mr. Elbridge Henry Goss, for presentation to this Society, the first published volume—intended to be followed by a second—of his “Life of Colonel Paul Revere.” The sumptuous appearance of the volume, in paper, type, and adornment, well befits the value of its contents, and the devotion, ability, skill, and research which the author has given to the faithful and thorough treatment of his subject. Very few of the patriotic men of our Revolutionary era have left to reward the search for them so many personal memorials of himself as has Paul Revere ; but these needed reviving and restoring appreciation and zeal like those of his present biographer to bring them to the grateful recognition of the present generation. Mr. Goss divides his pages about equally to his two purposes of presenting the patriot artisan, in his life of industry and skill in his private employment, and his ardent public political service. He was an artificer—for the most part self-taught—in many trades. He cast bells still hanging in church steeples, and cannon now widely scattered, as spoils of war. In many of our older local families are treasured the graceful products of his skill as a silversmith and graver. He produced a large number and variety of engravings and caricatures exhibiting his own ingenuity in conception and device, sometimes rude, but often of adequate artistic device to serve the ends, commemorative and patriotic, which he had in view. We value highly such of these as remain to us for their unique characteristics. Mr. Goss by his unwearied research has recovered many of them, as well as many documents and memorials of a

private and public interest. Yet varied and busy and serviceable as was the career of this really remarkable man, he was known mainly to readers of this generation for the single incident commemorated by Longfellow in the famous ride of Paul Revere to give the alarm for the attack on Lexington and Concord. That indeed was but one in a series of momentous incidents, in which as messenger and express to Portsmouth, New York, and Philadelphia, he carried intelligence on emergent occasions. He performed many other political services, and discharged high military functions, which have now, by his only real biographer, found for the first time a somewhat full and adequate memorial. Readers of this volume while recognizing the claims which Revere, both in his private and his public life, has upon our grateful appreciation and regard, will also render to his biographer a well-deserved tribute of appreciation of his own well-spent labor of love.

The PRESIDENT added that a fine portrait of Revere by Copley was in the possession of a branch of the Revere family.

Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE then described the portrait. Revere is represented as a man still young, eyes and hair dark, the face strong and expressive. He sits behind a bench, his coat off, waistcoat unbuttoned, shirt loose at neck and wrists. He holds in his left hand a teapot which rests on a pad; engraver's tools lie on the bench before him.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE said that he was about to print in a pamphlet the address to the people of Massachusetts prepared by Daniel Webster and James T. Austin, at the direction of a town-meeting held in Boston in 1819, on the Missouri Compromise, and inquired whether any member could refer to contemporary notices of that meeting.¹

¹ The meeting here referred to was "a large and highly respectable meeting of citizens" of Boston "and numerous other towns in the State," and was held in the State House, Dec. 8, 1819. At this meeting the Hon. William Eustis presented a report and two resolutions affirming the constitutional power of Congress to prohibit the extension of slavery into new States created beyond the limits of the original territory of the United States, and the justice and expediency of exercising that power. The report was unanimously adopted; and a committee was then appointed "to transmit the Resolutions adopted to the Senators and Representatives of this State in Congress, and to draft a Memorial to that Honorable Body for the signatures of the citizens." The members of the committee were Daniel

Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE presented, on behalf of the author, "Biographical Notes of Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, 1588-1629, by Frances B. Troup."

He also expressed a desire to affix exact dates to events briefly mentioned by him at the November meeting. During the Shays Rebellion, so called, John Wheeler, of Hardwick, was an aide-de-camp to Shays himself, and was actively engaged in the military operations until early in February, 1787, when he was taken prisoner. At the term of the Supreme Judicial Court holden on the ninth day of April, 1787, by adjournment from the first Tuesday of the same month, he was convicted of treason, and sentenced to be hanged. But three weeks later, April 30, 1787, "a full, free, and ample pardon" was granted to him by Governor Bowdoin. Connected with this transaction was a fact which somewhat surprised me when it came to my knowledge. This John Wheeler was commissioned First Lieutenant of a military company in Hardwick, Jan. 17, 1784, two years before the outbreak of hostilities. I have found no evidence that he ever resigned or was degraded from that office; but there is abundant evidence that, apparently in due course of promotion, he was commissioned as Captain of the same company by Governor Hancock, Sept. 1, 1789, a few months more than two years after he was "convicted of treason," and "adjudged to suffer the pains of death."

Webster, George Blake, Josiah Quincy, James T. Austin, and John Gallison. Subsequently, March 13, 1820, a meeting was held in Concert Hall, at which a committee of eight gentlemen, headed by James Savage, William Minot, and William Tudor, was appointed to make arrangements "for a general meeting of all the citizens of this town without distinction of parties . . . for the purpose of taking into consideration the late decision of the Congress of the United States on the Missouri Question, and the propriety of expressing the sentiments and feelings of the citizens on the further extension of slavery." This committee soon afterward issued a public notice to the effect that, after consultation with many of the persons who were present at the Concert Hall meeting, they had concluded it was expedient to postpone the proposed meeting indefinitely; and they added: "The public sentiment was expressed in a dignified and able memorial to Congress, by the direction of a most respectable meeting early in the winter, on the Missouri Question." See "Columbian Centinel" Dec. 4, 1819, March 15, 1820, and March 25, 1820. The memorial was printed in pamphlet form; and a copy, now in the Library of the Historical Society, which formerly belonged to George Ticknor, has a note in the handwriting of Mr. Ticknor, stating that it was prepared by John Gallison. Mr. Gallison died Dec. 24, 1820, at the early age of thirty-two. He, as well as Mr. Ticknor, was a member of the religious society of which William Ellery Channing was minister; and a memoir of him by Mr. Channing was printed in the "Christian Disciple," vol. iii. pp. 15-26.

The Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN, having been called on by the President, gave an interesting account of the extradition by Switzerland, in accordance with a peculiar clause in the treaty with the United States, of a native Swiss who had been guilty of embezzlement in the United States. This provision of the treaty is contrary to the established policy of the Federal Government of Switzerland, and conflicted with the Constitution of Geneva; but after full argument before the highest Swiss tribunals the paramount authority of the treaty stipulation was admitted.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN made the following remarks:—

In the earlier days of the Society, before the publication of the Proceedings, it was the custom to print the memoirs of deceased members in the Collections, of which there is no complete and consolidated Index. For this reason they are not as easily or readily accessible as those now printed in the Proceedings, with its full Index to the first twenty volumes. At the request of a member of the Society I have prepared a list of such memoirs, and as a result of the work the following titles are herewith submitted. Out of forty-eight memoirs here named, eighteen are printed separately, and appear in the Centennial Bibliography (Proc. 2d series, VI. 203-249) of the Society; and the fact of such appearance is noted after the title. In some instances the writer's name does not appear at the head of the memoir; but in all such cases, whenever known, I have given it. At the end of the tenth volume, in each of the first three series, appears an index to the authors, so far as they were known to the Publishing Committee. In connection with this list, the note on pages 509 and 510 of Volume II. of the Proceedings is of interest; and the very brief sketches in the same volume (page 607, *note*) should also be mentioned.

ALLYN, JOHN. Memoir of Rev. John Allyn, D.D. By Convers Francis.

[3d series, V. (1836), 245-252.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 231.

BELKNAP, JEREMY. Sketch of the Life and Character of the late Reverend Doctor Belknap. By John Eliot. [1st series, VI. (1800), x-xviii.]

This sketch was first published in the "Columbian Centinel," July 4, 1798, in nearly the same form.



BOWDOIN, JAMES. Memoir of James Bowdoin. By James C. Merrill. [3d series, IX. (1846), 224, 225.]

BRADFORD, GAMALIEL (b. 1763, d. 1824). Memoir of Gamaliel Bradford, Esq. By Alden Bradford. [3d series, I. (1825), 202-209.]

BRADFORD, GAMALIEL (b. 1795, d. 1839). Memoir of Gamaliel Bradford, M.D. By Convers Francis. [3d series, IX. (1846), 75-81.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 231.

BRATTLE, THOMAS. Sketch of the Life and Character of Thomas Brattle, Esquire, Member of the Historical Society. By John Mellen, Jr. [1st series, VIII. (1802), 82-85.]

This sketch is known to have been written by John Mellen, Jr., but in the Collections it is signed "*g. m.*"

BUCKMINSTER, JOSEPH STEVENS. Memoir of the late Rev. J. S. Buckminster. By James Savage. [2d series, II. (1814), 271-274.]

This memoir is signed "*Σ.*"

CLARKE, JOHN. Sketch of the Life and Character of the late Rev. Dr. Clarke. By Jeremy Belknap? [1st series, VI. (1800), iii-ix.]

This sketch was first printed, in part, in the "Columbian Centinel," April 7, 1798, and is supposed to have been written by Dr. Belknap.

DAVIS, JOHN. Memoir of Hon. John Davis, LL.D. By Convers Francis. [3d series, X. (1849), 186-203.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 231.

DAVIS, NATHANIEL MORTON. A Memoir of Nathaniel Morton Davis. By Nahum Mitchell. [4th series, IV. (1858), 492-494.]

DAVIS, SAMUEL. Memoir of Samuel Davis, Esq. 3d series, V. (1836), 253-255.

This was written probably by Nahum Mitchell. See Proceedings, I., pages 423, 426.

ELIOT, ANDREW. Memoir of Rev. Andrew Eliot, a Corresponding Member of the Historical Society. By John Eliot. [1st series, X. (1809), 188-189.]

This memoir is signed "*e.*"

ELIOT, JOHN. Memoir towards a Character of Reverend John Eliot, S. T. D. By Joseph McKean. [2d series, I. (1814), 211-248.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 237.

EMERSON, WILLIAM. Memoir of the Life and Character of the late Rev. William Emerson. By Samuel C. Thacher. [2d series, I. (1814), 254-258.]

FISKE, WILLIAM. Biographical Memoir of William Fisk, Esq. Fellow of the Historical Society. By James Winthrop. [1st series, IX. (1804), 206, 207.]

This memoir is known to have been written by James Winthrop, but is signed "*m n*," the third letter in each of his names.

FREEMAN, JAMES. Memoir of the Rev. James Freeman, D.D. By F. W. P. Greenwood. [3d series, V. (1836), 255-271.]

GANNETT, CALEB. Sketch of the Life and Character of Caleb Gannett, Esq. By Abiel Holmes. [2d series, VIII. (1819), 277-285.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 236.

GOODWIN, EZRA SHAW. Memoir of Rev. Ezra Shaw Goodwin. By Convers Francis. [3d series, V. (1836), 282-286.]

GORE, CHRISTOPHER. Memoir of the late Hon. Christopher Gore, of Waltham, Mass. By Samuel Ripley. [3d series, III. (1833), 191-209.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 240.

GRAHAME, JAMES. Memoir of James Grahame, LL.D. By Josiah Quincy. [3d series, IX. (1846), 1-41.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 240.

HARRIS, THADDEUS MASON. Memoir of Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D. By Nathaniel L. Frothingham. [4th series, II. (1854), 130-155.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 231.

HOLMES, ABIEL. Memoir of the Rev. Abiel Holmes, D.D., LL.D., &c. By William Jenks. [3d series, VII. (1838), 270-282.]

LAWRENCE, ABBOTT. Memoir of Abbott Lawrence. By Nathan Appleton. [4th series, IV. (1858), 495-507.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 222.

LINCOLN, BENJAMIN. Notices of the Life of Major General Benjamin Lincoln. By John T. Kirkland. [2d series, III. (1815), 233-255.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 236.

This article is signed "P. C."; but in the Collections, 2d series, Volume X., page 201, the authorship is ascribed to John T. Kirkland, President of Harvard College. Could "P. C." stand for President of the College?

LINCOLN, WILLIAM. Memoir of William Lincoln. By Joseph Willard. [3d series, X. (1849), 225-235.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 245.

LOTHROP, ISAAC. Biographical notices of Isaac Lothrop, Esq. By John Davis. [2d series, I. (1814), 258-260.]

LUNT, WILLIAM PARSONS. Memoir of William Parsons Lunt, D.D. By Nathaniel L. Frothingham. [4th series, IV. (1858), 508-514.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 231.

McKEAN, JOSEPH. A Sketch of the Life and Character of Rev. Joseph McKean, D.D. LL.D. late Boylston Professor of Rhetorick and Oratory, in Harvard University. By Levi Hedge. [2d series, VIII. (1819), 157-167.]

MARSH, EBENEZER GRANT. Memoir of Mr. Ebenezer Grant Marsh, deceased, extracted from Dr. [James] Dana's Funeral Discourse. [1st series, IX. (1804), 108-111.]

This memoir is signed "*m n*" (James Winthrop?). See FISKE, WILLIAM, *ante*.

MINOT, GEORGE RICHARDS. Character of the Hon. George Richards Minot, Esq. Judge of Probate in the County of Suffolk, and Judge of the Municipal Court in Boston: extracted from an Eulogy delivered a few days after his death. By James Freeman. [1st series, VIII. (1802), 86-109.]

PECK, WILLIAM DANDRIDGE. Obituary Notice of Professor Peck. By Dudley A. Tyng. [2d series, X. (1823), 161-170.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 243.

PEMBERTON, THOMAS. Memoir of Mr. Thomas Pemberton, a Member of the Historical Society. By John Eliot. [1st series, X. (1809), 190, 191.]

This is known to have been written by John Eliot, but is signed "*h e*."

PICKERING, JOHN. Memoir of Hon. John Pickering, LL.D. By William H. Prescott. [3d series, X. (1849), 204-224.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 240.

PIERCE, JOHN. Memoir of John Pierce, D.D. Communicated by Charles Lowell. [4th series, I. (1852), 277-295.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 237.

This memoir was written for Dr. Lowell by Mrs. Mary Wild (Pierce) Poor, of Brookline, youngest child of Dr. Pierce.

PRICE, EZEKIEL. Notice of Ezekiel Price, Esquire, Member of the Historical Society. By Thomas Dawes, Jr. [1st series, VIII. (1802), 85.]

This notice is signed "*j. t. d.*" (Thomas Dawes, Jr.).

PRINCE, JOHN. Memoir of Rev. John Prince, LL.D. By Charles W. Upham. [3d series, V. (1836), 271-282.]

SALTONSTALL, LEVERETT. Notice of the Life of Hon. Leverett Saltonstall. By Benjamin Merrill. [3d series, IX. (1846), 117-125.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 238.

SPOONER, WILLIAM JONES. Memoir of William Jones Spooner, Esq. By Francis C. Gray. [3d series, I. (1825), 265-271.]

- SULLIVAN, JAMES.** Biographical Memoir of the Honourable James Sullivan, Esq. F. H. S. &c. &c. By James Winthrop. [2d series, I. (1814), 252-254.]
- THACHER, PETER.** Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Thacher. By John Eliot. [1st series, VIII. (1802), 277-284.]
- THOMAS, JOSHUA.** Memoir of Hon. Joshua Thomas, of Plymouth, who died January 10, 1821. By Alden Bradford. [2d series, X. (1823), 1-6.]
- TUDOR, WILLIAM.** Memoir of Hon. William Tudor. By William Tudor, Jr. [2d series, VIII. (1819), 285-325.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 243.
- TYNG, DUDLEY ATKINS.** Biographical Notice of the late Dudley Atkins Tyng, LL.D. By his intimate friend, John Lowell. [3d series, II. (1830), 280-295.] See Proc. 2d series, VI. 237.
- WATSON, MARSTON.** Biographical Notices of Marston Watson, Esq., Member of the Historical Society. By John Davis. [1st series, VIII. (1802), 80, 81.]
- This article is signed "*d. j. d.*" Could this be meant for Dr. John Davis, as he was an LL.D.?
- WHITNEY, PETER.** Biographical Notice of Rev. Peter Whitney, A.M. and S. H. S. By Thaddeus M. Harris. [2d series, VII. (1818), 177, 178.]
- WINTHROP, JAMES.** Biographical Notice of Hon. James Winthrop, who died September, 1821, aged 69. By Alden Bradford. [2d series, X. (1823), 77-80.]
- WINTHROP, THOMAS LINDALL.** Memoir of the late Thomas L. Winthrop, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, etc. By William Jenks. [4th series, II. (1854), 202-214.]
- YOUNG, ALEXANDER.** Memoir of Rev. Alexander Young, D.D. By Chandler Robbins. [4th series, II. (1854), 241-245.]

Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, and the PRESIDENT having spoken of some recent contributions to historical literature then on the table, the Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP, who was in excellent voice, said:—

I do not forget that it is not the turn of my section this afternoon; but as attention has been called to some of the good books which have recently been published, I may be permitted to allude to a remarkable volume which I have just read with the greatest interest. I refer to the Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of the famous Patrick Henry, by his grandson, William Wirt Henry, one of our Corresponding

Members, and President of the American Historical Association. The work is to be in three volumes, but the first only has been issued.

There have now been at least three memoirs, or biographies, of this great Virginian patriot and statesman. The first was by William Wirt, an eminent lawyer, once the Attorney-General of the United States, and an orator of great eloquence. I recall the exceeding pleasure with which I heard him argue a memorable case in our Massachusetts Supreme Court, Daniel Webster being the opposing counsel, while I was studying law in Webster's office, some sixty years ago. He was one of the very most eloquent speakers to whom I had ever listened then, or have ever listened since. I was almost disposed to give him the preference over Webster himself. His biography of Patrick Henry was a brilliant, though a brief one. But he had not then the materials for making it a full one, or, indeed, an entirely just and correct one. He sent a copy to Mr. Jefferson, who was accustomed to catalogue his library systematically, dividing it into history, philosophy, fiction, and the rest. On reading Wirt's Henry he is said to have expressed himself very much puzzled and perplexed as to how he should classify it, and, at last, to have set it down under the head of *fiction*.

Quite recently an admirable Memoir of Patrick Henry — for the American Statesman Series, I believe — has been written by our accomplished Corresponding Member, Prof. Moses Coit Tyler, of which I cannot speak too warmly, and which is worthy of the highest commendation. But the volumes of that series are limited in the number of their pages, and perhaps even of their words, and are more noted for condensation than for completeness.

This new work, by Patrick Henry's grandson, who had all the family papers at his command, with ample abilities for using them, and upon whom there were no restrictions or limitations, cannot fail to be considered now, and in all time to come, the standard biography of one of the greatest orators and statesmen our country has produced; — for such Patrick Henry certainly was, in the judgment of his contemporaries, and this volume abounds in confirmatory evidence of the correctness of that judgment.

It was to Patrick Henry that John Adams wrote, on the 3d

of June, 1776, — a month before the Declaration of Independence, — telling him that to him will belong “the glory with posterity of beginning and concluding this great Revolution”; and adding, “We all look up to Virginia for examples.”

This volume, with those which are to follow it, will be a most important addition to the history of the Revolution and of the great men by whom it was accomplished.

The PRESIDENT then announced the death of Rev. Thomas Hill, D.D., LL.D., of Portland, Maine, a Corresponding Member, which occurred at Waltham on the 21st of November.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said that our associate member Mr. Hamilton A. Hill had recently presented to the Society a letter from Rev. Dr. John Eliot, at that time Corresponding Secretary of the Society, to the Earl of Buchan, informing him of his election as a Corresponding Member. Lord Buchan was chosen August 30, 1808; but the letter communicating information of his election failed to reach him. Subsequently Dr. Eliot wrote to him two letters under date of May 9, 1809, repeating the announcement. One of these letters was given to the Society by the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain in September, 1875, and the other has now been added to our archives.¹

The Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN presented the following communication: —

In the autumn of 1639 Governor Winthrop, after nearly ten years of unequalled services to the Colony, found his estate greatly impoverished, partly by his assiduous attention to public affairs, and in part by his too implicit trust in his bailiff. The story, though a sad one, is interesting, as everything is which relates to the personal history of the great magistrate, and throws light upon the history of those days; but it has been told neither with fulness nor precision. And now that we have much new material scattered through the volumes of the Winthrop Papers,² to which I can add a fact or two hitherto unknown, I have undertaken to bring together from different sources, and present in this paper, whatever seems to me essential to the completeness of the narrative.

The first entry by Winthrop in his Journal respecting this affair is of May 13, 1640, more than six months after it must

¹ See Proceedings, vol. i. p. 197 note.

² 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vols. vi., vii.; 5 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i.

have come to his knowledge; and even this seems to have been made less for recording his misfortune than to insure remembrance of an amiable trait of the people with whom he had cast his fortune. Dudley had that day superseded Winthrop in the chief magistracy under circumstances that induced some of the clergy to wait upon him in the way of explanation, and to assure him of their unabated respect and affection; and to them he made known "his unfeigned desire of more freedom, that he might a little intend his private occasion wherein (they well knew) how much he had lately suffered (for his bailiff, whom he had trusted with managing his farm, had engaged him £2,500 without his privity) in his outward estate. This they had heard of, and were much affected therewith, and all the country in general, and took course (the elders agreeing upon it at that meeting) that supply should be sent from the several towns, by a voluntary contribution, for freeing of those engagements; and the court (having no money to bestow, and being yet much indebted) gave his wife three thousand acres of land,¹ and some of the towns sent in liberally, and some others promised, but could perform but little, and the most nothing at all. The whole came not to £500, whereof near half came from Boston; and one gentleman of Newbury, Mr. Richard Dummer, propounded for a supply by a more private way, and for example, himself disbursed £100."²

Oct. 25, 1639, only a short time before the Governor knew of his misfortune, and from a desire, as he said, "to settle the affairs of my family," he drafted a will in which he disposed of his landed estate, all of which, with the exception of one parcel in England settled upon his wife, was in New England; and to this draft, less than two years later, June 25, 1641, he appended the following memorandum:—

"My estate becoming since much decayed through the unfaithfulness of my servant Luxford, so as I have been forced to sell some of my

¹ Col. Rec. vol. i. p. 295. This grant of the General Court, of the same date as the Governor's entry in his Journal, May 13, 1640, was in these words: "There is 3,000 acres of land granted to Mrs. Winthrope, the wife of Mr. John Winthrope, our late Governor, to bee at her disposing for her & her sons, where they shall desire it, without prejudice to any former grant." See also Col. Rec., vol. i. p. 346. This grant, "which lyeth in the bounds of Billerica at the mouth of Concord River," was known as "Mrs. Margaret Winthrop's farm" as late as Oct. 31, 1668. Suffolk Deeds, vol. v. p. 500.

² Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 3.

land already, and must sell more for satisfaction of £2,600 debts, whereof I did not know of more than £300, when I intended this for my testament, I am now forced to revoke it, and must leave all to the most wise and gracious providence of the Lord, who hath promised not to fail nor forsake me, but will be an husband to my wife and a father to our children, as he hath hereto been in all our struggles. Blessed be his holy name."

No one acquainted with Winthrop's services and character can read these words without emotion, nor, without heightened admiration and love, those other words already given from his Journal, which record the efforts of the Colony, and several towns and many private individuals, to lessen the severity of the blow by contributions from their meagre resources, and also by their assurances of respect and affection, most valued by Winthrop. The lustre of his character ever after shone brighter in the light reflected upon it from the community in which he lived.

I have now given all the facts bearing on this affair which, so far as we know, were before Savage in 1853, when he published the second edition of Winthrop's Journal. To certain figures [(8) 29, 1639] found in the margin of the draft of his will, Savage has appended the following note: —

"We can hardly doubt, that was the date of this second will, drawn only a short time previous to the news from England, of the loss of his estate by the means of his servant there."¹

This implies that Winthrop, in some way known to Savage, but not disclosed to us, had received information from England of the loss of his estate there, by means of his servant also there. How far that was the case will appear in due order. In the mean time it is not easy to understand how Savage dealt with certain facts found on the very pages before him for comment. Winthrop's own account of the transaction is, that his loss was by "his bailiff whom he trusted with *managing his farm*," — presumably his Tenhills farm up the Mystic, and the only one he is known to have carried on; and by comparison of Winthrop's will of 1639 with that of 1620, it is apparent that at the latter date he had disposed of all his English estates except one held in trust for Mrs. Winthrop and her children, by Deane Tyndale, her brother, and quite

¹ Journal, vol. ii. p. 440 note.

beyond the reach of James Luxford, whether in America or in England.

Nevertheless, so deservedly high was Savage's authority on questions relating to the Colony, that his assertion has been accepted as truth absolute, and even his silence as negation of facts otherwise possible.

But we have a large mass of evidence inaccessible to him when he wrote, which leaves no doubt that he was mistaken; and inasmuch as he has misled, and notwithstanding that evidence still misleads, it seems necessary to repeat it with fulness and even with prolixity.

From Winthrop's first will we know his landed estates in England, May 10, 1620;¹ and we also know that when he and some others had "determined for New England," they proceeded to sell their lands, which in his case was not completed until some time after his arrival here, — Groton Manor becoming the estate of the Warings not far from 1631; but as we hear nothing of them after 1631, all except a trust estate were probably disposed of before the date of his second will, Oct. 29, 1639, for that will was drawn, as he says, "for settling the affairs of his family"; and any settlement is hardly conceivable which did not include his English estates, if any remained. It is true that he speaks of the "uncertainty of my estate in England," which may refer to moneys due him there, and made precarious by the disturbed state of the times, which soon became revolutionary; but I think it more likely that he had in mind the estate settled upon his wife, and in respect to which he says: —

"Though I left an estate for her in England, yet being doubtful what may become of that, and having had £.400 of it already, my will is, she should be maintained in a comfortable and honorable condition, according to her place, and as my estate will bear, therefore I give unto her half of my farm Tenhills during her life, with the use of such stock as shall be left upon it (my debts, etc. paid.)"

We learn more about this estate, and Winthrop's interest in it, from the following letters written to him by his trusted friend John Tinker. Feb. 26, 1640, he writes from London:

"Mr. Tindall² hath not as yet sould your worshipp's land, but doth indeauour to put it to sale, which, if it be sould, I doe intend, according

¹ Savage, vol. ii. p. 436.

² Deane Tyndale, Mrs. Winthrop's brother, appears to have been the trustee under her marriage settlement.

to your worshipp's apoyntment, to request 100 *li.* or 2 to convert to your vse."¹

And again:—

"From The Downes, May 28, 1640, . . . I have received your letters with your orders for the payment of 800 *li.* to seuerall men, which I was to take vpp of Mr. Tindall, if the land weare sould; or if not to borowe of such gent: as ware your ffrends, as Mr. Gurdon, Dockter Wright &c. I was with Mr. Tindall, and the land is sould;² yett he, standing ingaged as ffefee in trust, for the stateing of my mistresse & the children in the meanes at the time apoynted, will not disburce any more than may stand with his security, untill he haue a releace from mistresse and the children: Mr. Stephen being at age, he hath sent a release for him to sigue to; and vppon the returning of it will part with more . . ."³

From these letters it is clear that Winthrop's estate in England was that held by Deane Tyndale in fee, but in trust probably to the use of Mr. and Mrs. Winthrop for their lives, and that of the survivor, with remainder to their children. This would justify Winthrop in speaking of it as his estate,—that is, an estate in which he had an interest; nor does it appear that at that time he had any other.

So we must look elsewhere for Winthrop's estate which was the subject of Luxford's peculations. Winthrop, in a letter written to Rev. Ezekiel Rogers of Rowley, one of his creditors, gives the following explicit and satisfactory account of one way in which his servant defrauded him:—

". . . Yet there is something troubles me a little, that some of my Christian friends should take advantage of my servants unfaithfulnesse to gett suche bargains, as some of them have (upon better consideration) been sorrye for, and have released them, and withall holpen to ease my burden, by lending me freely: but others call strictly & hastily for the like, which thoughe I look at it as an Injury yet I have not complained of it to any nor doe I intende to doe, being persuaded that they are suche as doe abhorre all oppressinge practizes (thoughe a good man may steppe aside that waye unawares especially in N: E:) & knowinge

¹ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vii. p. 221.

² Francis Bacon, of the family of the Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was the purchaser. For his letter to Winthrop in respect to this matter, from Shrubland, April 16, 1640, see 5 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 289; and Deane Tyndale's letter to same, Winthrop's Life, vol. ii. p. 258.

³ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vii. p. 226.

your wisdome & integritye, I will make you Iudge in the case: it may be you will not meet with the like (all circumstances wayed) & thus it stands: Some of them let my servant have moneye without my desire or privyete, till they came to me for their security & they acquaint me with it in such mañer, as I could apprehende no other, but that they lent it freely to doe me a Courtesye, (having then no present occasion to make use of it themselves) so now they have engaged me to requite this kindnesse some other waye, but withall, they privately contracte with my servant for large interest, & take a bill of him for delivery of so much Corne at an under rate, but no mention for what consideration: nor was I ever like to haue knowne it either from them or from my servant, had not a stranger (grievinge (as he sayd)¹ to see how my estate went awaye) given me notice thereof lately, whereupon I examined my servant who then confessed it to me: Otherwise I had payd interest for money, & yet been engaged to them for that, which it seems now, they lent for their owne advantage; for why would they not else haue acquainted me with the Interest as well as the principall? except they held it either not to be so lawfull, or not of so good reporte to take interest, as to lende money. Thus my Corne that I had provided for the food of my familie is sould awaye without my privyete (thoughe I was neere enoughe to haue been spoken with)² some at 2^s the bz under the market, some 12^d, some more, some lesse, whereas if they had tould me when they took securitye for their money, that I must have payd suche rates for it, I could have served my occasions otherwise, & could as well have made use of my funds or other means there for 2: or 300 lb. as I am forced now to doe to paye their principall & use withall.”³

Edward Carlton, one of those who made extortionate bargains with Luxford, thus excuses himself to Winthrop:—

“ . . . And wheras you write of your takeing offence, and ye cause, which you say was my takeing interest for my money:— first I say yt which your man borrowed of me in your name was most of my estate, out of which I had a familie to mentaine, yt I am to take care for in the way of the Lord. Againe, when I told you yt he did owe me money, I did not tell you of ye interest I was to haue for it, my reason was yt I did thinke that you were privye to all his doinges; and as for ye quantyete of money that I was to haue for the interest of a sum of a 170 pounds od money, was but 24 pounds, accordinge as corne ruled

¹ This shows conclusively that Winthrop first got his information of Luxford's rascality, not from England, but from a personal interview with some one here.

² This shows that the fraudulent transactions were here, not in England.

³ Life and Letters of John Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 419. See also 5 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. pp. 283, 304, 308, 811.

about ye time yt he had the money of me. Ye time that he had the money of me was nie a yeare and a halfe, soe that I know no grounde yt you should take offence att, and beside I suppose yt you are not ignorant what rate ye country hath always given for ye interest of a 100 pound for a year, which is now 20 pound a yeare; it was sore against my mind that he had my money soe long as he had. I doe believe that if any one had gained no more by him than my selfe, I think your estate would not have been impayred by him, soe yt I hope y^r is noe just cause why you should be offended."¹

Luxford played the more dangerous game of forgery. John Tinker, in a letter already quoted, writes to Winthrop from London, Feb. 26, 1640:—

" . . . I heare Goodman Luxford hath charged bills of exchange vppon men in London for some hundred pounds, of which some is for the vse of Mr. Valentine Hill, for so much receved of him there, and was to be paid to Mr. Hutchinson, linen draper in Cheapside;² now the parties seeing so litle reason why he should charge anything one them, haue protested his bills, and doe think it to be litle better than a cheate."³

Again, April 13, 1640:—

" . . . I doe heare a dayly complaine of Goodman Luxford, vppon the Exchange, for charging bills vppon men for the payment of great somes of mony heare, for soe much taken vpp there of some new comers ouer, for your worships vse, which doth apere to men of vn-derstanding to haue an ill face of deceipt, the men to whom he sends being such as he neuer had dealings with for a peny, nor doe se any reason why he should charge any such bills vppon them, eyther in your worships or his owne name."⁴

When or whence James Luxford came to the Bay and took charge of Winthrop's farm is of small account; and so is his later history, save as connected with the Governor's. But that he ever was in England after coming to New England is highly improbable. He may have been in Winthrop's service

¹ 5 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. p. 309.

² That is, Valentine Hill, a Boston merchant, having occasion to remit to his creditor, a merchant in London, bought a bill of exchange drawn on a party there by Luxford in Boston without authority. The bill was protested, of course, and Winthrop was informed of the transaction. The sight of some such protest may have misled Savage.

³ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vii. p. 221.

⁴ Ibid. p. 224.

in May, 1633;¹ and by a bigamous marriage he had children in 1637 and 1641. He was here Dec. 4, 1638, the year before his unfaithfulness was discovered.² Dec. 3, 1639, he was presented for having two wives, fined £100, ordered to be set in the stocks, and "to be sent away for England by the first opportunity."³ December 10, Hugh Peter writes Winthrop from Salem: "James Luxford was at Sagust when I came by; I have layd out for him."⁴ And May 13, 1640, the General Court took him in hand again, and "for his forgery, lying, and other foule offences, he was censured to bee bound to the whipping poust till the lecture from the first bell, and after the lecture to have his eares cut of; and so hee had liberty to depart out of our jurisdiction."⁵ Of this permission he availed himself; for the next we hear of him is in a letter from Governor Winslow to Winthrop, dated Oct. 10, 1640, in which he says: —

"By the enclosed you may perceiue the earnest request of your un-dutiful servant Luxford, who hath no lesse but much more importuned me since I received his lines, using Paul's plea for Onesimus, &c. but you know the man & his manner of importunity, pleading his paines & care so many years, & however his faylings were great yet I perceiue he thinks his paines to be greater, & that in his extreame necessity you should take compassion on him, but I refer him to your mercy & yet would have you consider well what you doe. The truth is I thinke he is very pore: for he worketh not, yet offered me his labor this harvest for his dyet, which for some reasons I durst not accept, but pittie the man. He hath taken a ffarme of Mr. Hanbury which was Mr. Brown's at 4*l* per annum, but how he will pay it or raise it I know not, especially when he hath neither stock, security, foode, nor credit. He saith there are some in the bay will affourd him some help; but who they are or what it is I know not."⁶

The Records give us some information — and I expect to add more — respecting the lands Winthrop had been forced to sell before June 25, 1641, when he revoked his will; and also

¹ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. p. 55.

² Col. Rec. vol. i. p. 245; Lechford's Note-Book, p. 139 n.

³ Ibid. p. 288.

⁴ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vii. p. 202.

⁵ Col. Rec. vol. i. p. 295.

⁶ 4 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. vi. p. 169. Those who care to read his letters to Winthrop as late as 1646 will find them in 5 Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. i. pp. 127-147.

those he sold afterwards. August 17, 1640, by deed not recorded until March 26, 1648,¹ he sold to his son Stephen one half of Prudence Island, in Narraganset Bay, in consideration of part of his interest in some lands in England lately sold to Francis Barne [Bacon], Esq., which he released for the Governor's use;² March 1, 1642, "with Margarette his wife, and Adam their son, the Iland called the Governors Garden, in the Massachusetts Baye, to Henry Dunster, president of Harvard College, in Cambridge, and Capt. George Cooke gent. & theire heirs for the use of the said Adam & Elizabeth, & the heires of theire two bodyes: the remainder to the sayd Adam & his heires only the said John Winthrop & Margarette his wife doe reserve unto themselves, & the longer liver of them, one third part of all such apples, peares, grapes, plumes, as shalbe yearly growinge upon said land";³ Sept. 22, 1643, "to his son John & Elizabeth his wife, for life & after to their son Fitz-John, 1200 acres upon Concord river & 60 acres adjoining, together with part of the Tenhills farm in Charlestown, in consideration of £150, part of a greater sum due to his son, & reserving to himself and wife & the sur-

¹ Notwithstanding five orders passed by the Court between 1634 and 1640 (Col. Rec. vol. i. pp. 116, 137, 201, 276, 306), to the general effect of defining possessions by record, the Colonists seem to have taken no more kindly to a new way, or to the publicity of their estates, than their kindred in England in later days have to the often proposed general registration law. Finally, in 1652 (Col. Rec. vol. iii. p. 280), the General Court took the matter in hand, with an interesting recital of the English practice in those days: "Whereas the way of passage of houses & landes by sale, in England, is both peaceable & effectual, namely, by deed or writing, sealed & delivered, with livery and seizin, or possession given of the same before witnesses, or by deed acknowledged & enroled, or by suing a fine, & that divers within this jurisdiction are apt to rest upon a verball bargain or sale for howses or landes of any value, this Court, havinge taken this thing into serious consideration, doth hereby declare and order, for the prevention of all clandestine & uncertayne sales & tytles, that henceforth no sale or alienation of howses or landes in this jurisdiction shalbe good in law, except the same be done by deed in writing, under hand & seale, & delivered, & possession given upon part, in the name of the whole, by the vendor, or his attorney so authorized under hand & seale, unles the said deed be acknowledged according to law & recorded."

After the passage of this order the records of deeds, no less to the satisfaction of the antiquary than of the conveyancer, show more completeness than before; but the force of the old English custom of taking possession with *livery* and *seizin* by twig and turf occasionally appears, though made unnecessary by the acknowledgment and record of the deed.

² Suffolk Deeds, vol. i. p. 102.

³ Ibid. p. 25.

vivor one third of the fruit annually growing thereon";¹ Sept. 26, 1643, "to William Ting and others, his mansion house in Boston, together with Tenhills farm except what was conveyed by the deed next above mentioned, in consideration of debts due them and others";² Nov. 12, 1643, "to his son Stephen, the Green by the spring, together with a parcel of marsh land, both in Boston, (reserving a small parcel of upland) Winthrop & his wife to have and use one half of the Green & the buildings to be thereon erected, for their lives, and the survivor, but not to let or dispose of it, or any part of it, to any other";³ Nov. 13, 1647, "to his son Deane Winthrop, his farm of 200 acres, more or less, at Pullen point."⁴

By these conveyances the Governor, after providing for the payment of his debts, endeavored to carry out the provisions of his will of 1639, revoked in consequence of Luxford's defaultations. In that revocation he speaks of having been forced to sell some of his lands; and by comparing its date, June 25, 1641, with the dates of the conveyances given above, we find that the only one then sold, so far as the record informs us, was that of Prudence Island, August, 1640. But the record is incomplete, as will now appear.

Among the "Great Allotments at Rumney Marsh," now Revere, made by the town of Boston, Jan. 8, 1638,⁵ was one to "Mr. Henry Vane, Esq., two hundred acres: bounded on the South with Mr. Richard Bellingham; on the West with Charlestowne [now Everett]; on the North with Mr. Winthrop; and on the East with the highway there."

The next was to "Mr. John Winthrop, the Elder, a hundred and fiftie acres; bounded on the South with Mr. Vane; on the West with Charlestowne; on the North with Mr. Newgate and James Penn, and on the East with the highway."

Then follow similar allotments to John Sanford, John Coggeshall, William Brenton, who were afterwards governors of Rhode Island, Thomas Matson, a military officer, Robert Harding, John Odlin, and William Dyer, the husband of

¹ Recorded same day, Suffolk Deeds, vol. i. p. 45.

² Recorded same day, Ibid. p. 45.

³ Recorded March 26, 1648. Ibid. p. 102.

⁴ Recorded Nov. 16, 1647, Ibid. p. 86.

⁵ Town Records, vol. i. p. 21.

the ill-fated Mary Dyer, all of whom were Antinomian followers of John Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson, and as such disfranchised, or banished from the Colony, chiefly during the exciting session of the General Court in November, 1637. This circumstance, however, does not appear in any wise to have affected the action of the town, two months later, when these allotments were made; nor can I say that they had any political significance. Of course the allottees received nothing to which they were not legally entitled; but as is well known, the strength of the Antinomian party was in the Boston church, or, what is the same thing, among the legal voters of the town, of whom they probably constituted the majority; while their opponents, found chiefly in the country towns, controlled the General Court. Had this state of the parties been reversed, it is not quite clear, judging from some other circumstances, that the Antinomians, who had just been banished, would have carried away to Rhode Island titles to some of the best lands in Boston.

The question also arises why Vane, after only a year of stormy and not altogether useful service, should have received two hundred acres lying open to the warm south, and Winthrop, after many years of unparalleled labor, only one hundred and fifty acres of inferior land looking into the cold north; though, as is stated in his *Life*,¹ there was great dissatisfaction in the Boston church with the Governor's vigorous proceedings against the Antinomians, I have found no reason for believing that it was expressed by a diminution of his grant. I much prefer to believe, as the probabilities are, that he was fairly accorded all that was his due under the regulations for dividing the town lands. Be that as it may, of course it was the irony of chance that sandwiched Winthrop between Vane, whom, as a political rival and supporter of Mrs. Hutchinson, he probably did not greatly love, and a nest of Antinomians whom he must have detested as thoroughly as his loving nature would allow.

The allotments of Vane and Winthrop, divided by an east and west line, included the hill known in recent times as Fenno's Hill, and some lowland at its southern foot. And had Winthrop and Vane visited the hill which became theirs, and stood on the line which separated their estates, both could

¹ Vol. ii. p. 208.

have seen, as many people now go to see, some of the most striking views which the seaside about Boston affords, — the magnificent Lynn Bay, with the Nahants, and a wide reach of water stretching away to the outer islands and the south shore.

It is not quite certain, though I shall persist in believing, that Winthrop ever visited what in his will he calls "my land beyond Powderhorne hill"; but Vane assuredly did not, since his allotment was made only after he had left New England forever.

By deed or deeds unrecorded, Vane's estate passed to Nicholas Parker, who owned it in 1639;¹ and in 1652 it became the property of Aaron Way and William Ireland, in whose farmhouse, which may be still standing, Increase Mather took refuge when, hounded by Randolph in 1688, he was compelled to leave Boston by its side door, going through Charlestown to the Vane farm; and thence by Hog Island to Pulling Point, off which lay the ship "President," which took him to England on behalf of the Colony.

That all the lenticular hills in the Boston Basin were once covered with forests may, aside from traditions to that effect, perhaps be fairly inferred from the reservation of wood and timber except for domestic purposes, found in a lease in 1667 by Governor Bellingham of a part of Powderhorn Hill. For more than two hundred and fifty years Winthrop's allotment has been farming or grazing land, and so far as I have observed, is still unoccupied by buildings. Within a year after its grant it became part of the "Great Newgate Farm." And so, somewhat earlier, did the "nyne and forty acres" allotted to José Glover, the English rector who made a contract with Stephen Day of Cambridge, England, to come over and set up a printing-press. Glover died on the passage, and his widow married Henry Dunster, the first president of the College, and one of his daughters Deane Winthrop, the Governor's son. By

¹ In Lechford's Note-Book, page [60], is the following: "Copie of a grant of Powderhorne Hill by Henry Vane Esq^r to William Brampton gent. Dated 2 [sic] 1638. [6 d.]" In 1638 Vane was in England, and there doubtless the grant was drawn and executed. Vane owned no part of Powderhorn Hill, which from 1635 to 1672 belonged to Governor Bellingham's estate. Vane's allotment bounded it on the north. The error of description was perhaps Vane's, and by him communicated to his English scrivener. Lechford, who sometimes acted for Governor Bellingham, was acquainted with his estates.



Knowe All men
 Jurisdiction of the Grante
 to me in hande warrs by the
 and sell into the said Grante
 England tontoyning One
 Loading to divers men to
 most, and the lands now
 lands of James Adon and
 accompanied to have a
 the honed and assigned for
 fifties day of the fenty
 fifties years of the fenty

Signed sealed and d
 in the presence of:

Stephen As
 et mei Tho: Sech

the Glover purchase the Newgate farm, situated in the interior among the hills, was brought down to tide-water, near which John Newgate's venerable mansion house is now standing.

Neither the Winthrop deed nor that of Glover's widow has ever been recorded, though both are extant, and in the possession of our associate William W. Greenough, Esq. The former, a fac-simile of which accompanies this paper, reads as follows:—

Knowe All men by these presents that I John Winthrop Esqr Governo^r of the Jurisdiction of the Mattachusetts Bay in New England for fower score pounds of lawfull money of England to me in hand paid by John Newgate of Boston in New England Feltmaker Doe hereby graunt bargain and sell unto the said John Newgate All that my Lott of upland lying neare Rumney marsh in New England conteyning One hundred and Fifty acres be it more or lesse, abutting upon the highway there leading to Divers mens lotts on the East, and upon the lands perteyning to Charlestowne towards the west, and the Lands now of Nicholas Parker sometimes M^r Vanes towards the south, and partly upon the lands of James Pen and partly upon the lands of the said John Newgate on the north parte, wth the appurtenances. To have and to hold the said Lott wth all the appurtenances unto the said John Newgate his heires and Assignes for ever. In witnesse whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the Eighteenth Day of the tenth moneth in the yeare of our Lord One thousand six hundred thirty and nyne and in the Fifteenth yeare of the Raigne of our Sovereigne Lord Charles now King of England ec^a

JO: WINTHROP:

Signed sealed and Delivered
in the presence of:

STEPHEN WINTHROP —
et mei Tho: Lechford scriptoris hujus

It was written in the neat hand of Thomas Lechford, author of "Plain Dealing" and the Note-Book, and signed by him and Stephen Winthrop as witnesses. It bears date Dec. 18, 1639, fifteen days after the Governor's misfortune was bruited abroad, and still longer after he found himself ruined. For the paltry sum of fourscore pounds Winthrop was forced to sell to John Newgate the hundred and fifty acres of land which a little less than a year before he had received from the town of Boston. A comparison of dates leaves little or no doubt that the estate mentioned in the unexecuted instrument of

1639 as, "my land beyond Powderhorne Hill," was "some of my land" which he tells us, in the writing of 1641, he had been obliged to sell in the vain effort to retrieve the disaster brought upon him by his faithless bailiff. It was merely a drop out of the bucket of the Luxford debts. He had lost everything save honor.

Winthrop's allotment is in plain sight from my own house; and in the last thirty years I have often climbed its rounded heights, and never, I think, without consciousness that it was once Winthrop's; but not until within a few months have I known that it was in any way associated with so pathetic an incident in the life of one who by great services and high character gained the esteem and love of his contemporaries, and has since taken his place among the founders of states.

NOTE.

The only document in the Probate Office which relates to the administration of Winthrop's estate is an inventory. This Savage had seen, and has given the footing of values: £103. 10. 11. (Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. p. 441 note.) This interesting document, nowhere printed so far as I have noticed, answers a question often asked, — whether Winthrop executed a will after June 25, 1641, now lost like many others, or died intestate. A rather obscurely written entry on the back of this inventory answers the question.

An Inventory of the Goods & Chattles of John Winthrop Esq: late Governo^r of the Massachusetts deceased taken by James Johnson & William Aspinwall the 17th of the 2^d mo. 1649.

	s.	d.
Imprimis in the garret over the parlor in hemp & tow . . .	00.	15. 00
It. a ball of haire twine	00.	03. 00
It. drumme heades	00.	10. 00
It. 2 paire andyrans	01.	10. 00
It. i musket & bandil ^r i french carbine. i pistol	01.	04. 00
It. i brasse kettle	01.	10. 00
It. 3. truncks. 4 chests. 2 chaires	01.	05. 00
It. in buckles & teretts	00.	05. 00
It. 3 smale measures of tin, & wire	00.	05. 00
It. 2 lether bottles & a hatcase. 3 joyners saw plates. 2 sitting wheeles, & broken brasse	00.	09. 00
It. 3 cases for bottles	00.	08. 00
It. a little trunck w th fish hookes	00.	04. 00
It. 20 tin plates. & a box w th some fyles &c.	00.	17. 00
It. a pipe of yron & a pestle	00.	12. 00
It. in smale peeces of yron ware	01.	07. 00

	£	s.	d.
It. 2 sea horse pizels 1 pipe copp. ii warming pans	00.	08.	00
It. a turne for silk, & caliver moulds	01.	00.	00
It. a wire search, & yron chaines	00.	05.	00
It. i. yron pot & 2 coops drawes	00.	05.	00
It. 7 pewter dishes. 10 plates. & 5 smale dishes	01.	12.	00
It. a stewpan. a smale ewer, & flagon	00.	06.	00
It. 3 brasse & 3 pewter candlesticks	00.	12.	00
It. a chamber pott, close stoole, & ladle	00.	02.	06
It. a brass lamp. 3 braces. & yron pott	00.	12.	00
It. ould armour, i pistol	01.	05.	00
It. an yron dogg. i great dripping pan. 2 old swords	00.	16.	06
It. in ould yron & an yron chaine	00.	09.	00

In the Garret over the Hall.

It. one ould carpet, curtens & vallans	00.	14.	00
It. 6 cushions. i brush. 2 long cushion cloths	00.	15.	08
It. another ould carpet	00.	10.	00

Over the Porch.

It. a bed & bedsteed. bolster & ould tapestry covering	02.	00.	00
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In the Hall Chamber.

It. one fether bed, bolster, coverlet & two blankets	02.	06.	00
It. 3 stooles & one rugg	00.	12.	06

In the Porch Chamber.

It. a fether bed, bolster, yrish rugg. bedsted	03.	00.	00
It. an ould table, smale cob yrons. 3 window curteines	00.	06.	03

more in the Hall Chamber.

It. one cloake	01.	10.	00
It. 2 sattin doublets	02.	00.	00
It. cloth of gould scarfe & 2 belts	00.	18.	00
It. one ould black suite. 2 cloakes	03.	00.	00
It. remnant of cloth, ould silk stockings & garters	00.	11.	00
It. tapestry covering & 7 ^{ds} dornicks	02.	00.	00
It. an old bever	00.	05.	00

In the Parlour Chamber.

It. 2 chaires. i doz napkins. i doz diaper. i doz holland. 1 doz course. i old table cloth, a cupboard cloth, & another table cloth	02.	10.	00
It. diap table cloths & ii plaine table cloths	02.	17.	06
It. i p ^r of sheetes. pillow beere	01.	01.	00
It. 18 bands. 14 ruffes. 5 capps. 3. shirts	01.	17.	00
It. i cabinet, 1 doz chalk lines & mackrel line	00.	12.	00

In the Staire Way.

It. 2 old shirts. 6 p ^r course sheets. 15 table napkins, 2 pillow beeres. 6 course table cloths	02.	05.	06
It. ould cloths	00.	11.	00

In the Parlour.

	£	s.	d
It. i downe bed, bolsters, pillow & coverlet	05.	00.	00
It. i p ^r worsted stock: & breeches serge	01.	01.	00
It. ould stof breeches. i p ^r stockings cloth. cloth coate	02.	01.	00
It. 3. p ^r gloves, i serg De boise gowne	03.	07.	06
It. i cloth suite & cloake. a wastcoate & another cloth suite	06.	04.	00
It. 2 trundle bedsteds & one standing	00.	12.	00
It. ould stuff coate. i velvet capp. 2 p ^r ould stock.	00.	09.	00
It. 2 chests. & one p ^r silk garters	00.	16.	00
	70.	08.	05

In the Hall.

	£	s.	d
It. one cloth suite. cloake & wastcoate	00.	12.	00
It. one scarlet cap. i sattin cap.	00.	10.	00
It. a straineing cloth & 2 ould p ^r stockings	00.	04.	08
It. an old cloak & coate	01.	00.	00
It. a table & carpett & ould bever in the plo ^r	01.	10.	00
It. an ould case for bottles in the parlo ^r	00.	01.	06
It. a round white boxe & p ^r of snuffers	00.	01.	04
It. 6 chaires & a cupboard in the hall	01.	15.	00

In the Entry.

It. a saw & a harquebuz	00.	10.	00
It. 8 pewter dishes	01.	00.	00

In the Kitchen.

Old pewter in the kitchen	02.	10.	00
It. 4 brasse potts. 2 posuets. 1 skellet	03.	00.	00
It. i copper kettle. & brasse pan	01.	15.	00
It. i brasse kettle & posuett	01.	05.	00
It. pestle mortar & 2 pewter candlesticks	00.	06.	00
It. 2 p ^r of tramels & yron barr	00.	06.	00
It. i smale kettle & 3 spitts	00.	07.	00
It. i table. 2 chaires & 2 stooles	00.	05.	06

In the Cellar.

It. in lumber & a gridyron	00.	14.	06
It. a stoole pan. a p ^r of slings. & 4 buffet stooles	00.	08.	00
It. a waterpot, kneading trough. soape	00.	06.	06
It. bottom of a still	00.	01.	00
It. a satinisko coate & an ould casket	02.	00.	00
It. 2 ^c of boards & a black []hoate	01.	00.	00

In the Study.

It. 2. C. weight of leade. 2 axes 2 adds	01.	17.	04
It. ould yron. crosbow lots. 13 quire pap	00.	12.	04
It. ould hudd & [illegible]	00.	02.	00
It. 3 sirenges. 2 trepans. 2 p ^r Gould w th	00.	15.	00
It. a brasil rod garnisht w th silver	00.	10.	00
It. a box w th needles, awles, brasse buttons	00.	05.	00
It. carbin & bandilers, i p ^r smale scales. 16 weigh th	00.	06.	00
7 yron hasps. great bullet mould. 6 fyles	00.	03.	06

1891.]

INVENTORY.

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	<i>£</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
It. 6 chesils. one vice, hammer, shears, some plate	00.	05.	00
It. 3 awles. one cupbord Locke. smale bolt. keys	00.	02.	00
It. an ould knife. brasse pistoll & grafting saw	00.	04.	06
It. a punch. & leade flagon. & yron met. pan.	00.	07.	02
It. 2 brest wimbles. & a pound of steele	00.	01.	06
It. i <i>£</i> . w ^t of smale shott. & a kettle	01.	08.	00
It. i ould hatt. 3 smale stone bottles	00.	05.	00
It. 6 p ^r spectacles. glue. i p ^r shooes	00.	05.	10
It. a tufted velvet jerkin & another velvet jerk	01.	15.	00
It. 4 p ^r of wash stockings. 3 yuckhornes	00.	03.	09
It. 6 p ^r gloves. i standish. points. twine	00.	11.	05
It. gartering. wax candles. 2 p ^r oyle stockings	00.	07.	02
It. 2 trunks & a red skin. & 2 pound twine	00.	08.	06
It. i p ^r of shooes. pint pot. yron square, reap hooke	00.	04.	06
It. i seale skin, 3 p ^r old bootes. 2 ould hatts	00.	10.	00
It. i p ^r compas, pinchers. 2 p ^r of []hars. 3 smale bitts, & a spreader	00.	08.	00
	33.	02.	06
	70.	08.	05
Sum tot	103.	10.	11

WILLIAM ASPINWALL.
JAMES JOHNSON.

Indorsed: Inventorie M^r Godd Winthrop.
M^r Winthrops Inventory.

M^{rs} Martha Winthrop & Mr Adam Winthrop granted administration
to pay so farr as the estate will go dated the 9th of the 3^d m^o 1649 by
the Cort of magistrats

ENCREASE NOWELL, *secret*.

A new serial, containing the record of the meetings in
October and November, was ready for delivery at this
meeting.

JANUARY MEETING, 1892.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, in presenting a copy of an old journal, made the following remarks : —

Among the manuscript volumes belonging to the Historical Society is a diary of Lawrence Hammond, of Charlestown, kept two hundred years ago, which was given on March 11, 1858, by Miss Elizabeth Belknap, together with other books and manuscripts once owned by her father, the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap. The journal consists of forty-three closely written pages, — though not always in regular sequence as to dates, — besides some blank ones, and was unbound when it came into the possession of the Society. It has since been bound, however ; and in the copy now presented for the Proceedings nothing is omitted, with the exception of a few pages on ancient history and King Henry VIII., though no attempt has been made to arrange the entries in chronological order. A minute scrutiny of the folds of the paper comprising the volume seems to show that once, before it came here, there were more leaves in the book than there are now, and perhaps in tearing off the missing portion, presumably for the most part blank, in order to use the paper, some of the writing was lost.

At different periods this diary has been consulted by several historians, who refer to it in their pages. Thomas Prince, in the Preface to his *Annals* (page vii), mentions it as "An Original *Journal* of the late Capt. *Lawrence Hammond* of *Charlestown* and *Boston*, from 1677 to 1694, inclusively"; and in a note written by him on a letter from Thomas Hinckley to Isaac Foster, he refers to certain entries in the journal not now found there. (See *Collections*, 4th series, V. 13.) Dr. Jeremy Belknap, in his *History of New Hampshire* (I. 151,

note), speaks of it as "a MS journal found in Prince's collection, and supposed to have been written by Captain Lawrence Hammond of Charlestown"; and uses it as authority for certain statements relative to an attack near Dover by the Mohawk Indians (I. 153), as well as for statements relative to the appointment of a commission to make a treaty of peace with the Indians (I. 158),—whereas neither of these events is even alluded to in the manuscript volume. This comparison shows that in Prince's day the journal extended over the same period of time as it covers now; and, furthermore, that then, as well as in Dr. Belknap's day, it contained more entries than it has now. These differences may be explained, perhaps, by the absence of leaves in certain folds of the book that I have already noted. All the missing entries occur within a period of less than thirteen months, and probably filled only a few pages of the diary. From these omissions our late associate, Charles W. Tuttle, Esq., was led to infer that once there were two separate and distinct journals kept by the writer. See his paper in the Proceedings (XIII. 314) of this Society, which was presented at the meeting held on June 11, 1874.

Captain Hammond was made a freeman of the Colony on May 23, 1666, and for several years was chosen a Deputy to the General Court from Charlestown. In 1686 and several following years he was the Recorder of Middlesex County, whose duties corresponded very nearly to those of the present Registers of Deeds and Probate combined. He took an active interest in military matters, and was a Lieutenant and the Captain of a foot company in Charlestown. His death took place in Boston, on July 29, 1699.

1687/8

March 9th The Disease of y^e meazles hath prevailed exceedingly in this land, it began in Boston in y^e summer & spread since into all parts of y^e Country, few have dyed thereof.

It began in our Towne y^e begining of Winter & hath gone almost through every family.

Franc Hamond fell sick wth it about a month agoe. he kept at Widow Peachees.

Betty Hammond soone after him. W^m Gerish at Boston about a month agoe

Abigail Hammond at Salem about y^e same time, or before.
 Meazles Parson Gerish in my family about y^e 22^d of february.

Betty Gerish }
 Bethia Gerish } March y^e 7th in our family, are now very ill.
 Little Laurence }

12 All well recovered through Gods mercy. Our Maid Tryal sick also & recovered.

This day we began to remove our Goods to M^r Tucks house having hyred y^e southerly end for a Lease of 7 yeares, to pay £5.0.0 p annum.

30 Fra: Hammond shipt on board M^r Shrimptous barque, W^m Everton M^r bound for y^e Madera.

April 1 Skipper [William] Hurry made his first Voyage for this yeare fro. Pascataq, [Portsmouth, N. H.] loaden wth boards &c

3 This day, I deliue^d y^e key of D^r Chickerings house to M^r [Hannah] Hunting, wife of Cap^t Sam: Hunting, who received y^e same of me.

B^r Jos. Gerish carryed home his Daughter Betty from our house this day.

6 I rec^d of M^r Jn^o Parker of Redding for acco^t of Tho. Tayler sen^t of s^d Towne 34/s for Costs of Court & 50/s. in full of all accompts.

23 Munday. Training day. We Examin'd Armes & Ammunition I dismissed Samuel Kettle from being Drummer & Sergeant Rich^d Lowden from being Serg^t of y^e Company, at both their requests; I made Samuel Kettle youngest Serg^t & Nathaniel Kettle Drummer of y^e Company.

This day came into our family Elizabeth Nevenson, daughter of M^r Jn^o Nevinson & Elizabeth his wife, who wilbe 13 yeares of age ye

22^d day of October next: The verbal Coven^t betweene my Betty Nevinson wife & M^r Nevenson is, that she ye s^d Elizabeth shall dwell with my wife as a serv^t six yeares, to be taught, instructed & provided for as shalbe meet, & y^t she shall not depart from our family during ye said time without my wifes consent.

24 I waited on the Governour to Concord, to vizeit Major Bulkeley.

25 The Governo^r took his Journey to y^e Eastward, & returned back May 28th following.

May 3 Was kept by Boston old Church, our Towne & Dorchester in fasting & prayer, more especially for raine, it having been an exceeding dry Spring & great signs of a Drought. And God was Fast pleased to hear prayers, & to give an answer in part that night in sending a very refreshing shower about two houres long, & a plentifull raine the begining of y^e following week.

11 My wife & I rod to Wenham this day, being fryday, & continued there till wednesday following. from thence we came to Wenham Salem y^e day & staid till ye next; & then came home.

25 Major Peter Bulkeley dyed this day & was privately buried on ye Sabbath being y^e 27th day.

Maj^r Bulkly's death June 9 My wife & I rod to Concord to Visit Ma^d. Bulkley (being Saturday) & returned home on tuesday following.

This Evening M^r Sampson Sheafe was set upon in Boston Common, & knockt downe & robbed by two Ruffins, One Hambleton M^r Sheafe wounded. (lately a Lodger at his house) being present, who it is judged hyred them to do it; he Whistling w^h he met M^r Sheafe, these fellowes immediately fell upon him; y^e Ruffins fled, Hambleton in Custody

11 A thunder shower in y^e Afternoone, very fierce in these two Townes; struck M^r Sheafe's house in Boston, split severall Lightning timbers & shattered others, strook his wife on her face, but she rec^d no great hurt.

Lustcom 10 Major Humphry Lustcomb [Liscom] of Boston dyed of a fever.

West 13 I went to Boston, & paid M^r West 46/s. money, w^{ch} I rec^d of our County Treasurer, for Acts by him sent to this county, w^{ch} was allowed in March Court.

Note that ever since y^e fast on May 3^d much raine hath seasonably & mercyfully fallen; so that at this day y^e fruits of ye earth are all in a very flourishing rate, praised be God!

1688/9

March 7 About a fortnight agoe two men of Chelmsford, who were Cousen-Germans, who also marryed two sisters, went out wth their Guns together to kill Ducks &c. y^e one going just before ye other, the Gun in ye hand of ye hindmost man went off, & shot ye foremost man in ye back, wherof he presently Dyed: & when y^e Gun was Lookt upon, ye Cock was found at halfe bent, guarded wth ye Dog on ye outside, & the Hammer close down upon the pan; ye man not touching ye Lock after it fired, but threw ye gun down, & Ran to ye wounded man; Noe man knowing how ye powder sh^d take fire, unless it were by a spark of fire from ye foremost mans tobacco pipe (w^{ch} he had in his mouth when shot) carried by ye wind between ye Barrel & Hammer of ye Gun, tho' no spark was seen by either of them; the hindmost man had no pipe lighted or fire about him: A strange providence!

M^r Sam. Whiting Minister of Billerica Related it to me this day.

Anno 1688. In New england, One J Brodbent an Exciseman and a Hectoring Debauchee, Resid^t in Boston (where too many of the same stamp, have lately multiplyed) meeting an Honest, Ingenious Countryman upon the Road, enquired of him, what Newes Countryman? who Replied, I know none: the other then Replied, Ill tell you som; What is it? (said ye Countryman); said the other, The Devil is Dead: How? said ye Countryman, I believe not that; Yea, said ye other, he is dead for certaine: Well then, said ye Countryman, if he be dead, he hath left many fatherless Children in Boston.

*An Eminent Deliverance of M^r. Jⁿ. Hale Minister of
Beverly & his family from Lightning.*

Febr: 19. 1688.

His Relation wherof is this. My wife, two maids & two Children were by ye kitchin fire; myself with Deacon Hill in my study, & hearing ye thunder smart. were going down to Comfort ye family below, & as we came to ye head of ye Staires (D. Hill part down) we were both struck wth Lightning in our right Armes & right Legs, yet neither of us heard ye thunder, or saw ye Lightning; He was Less strook, & sooner got down staires; I was struck down upon my knees, by ye post we use to lay hands on, as we goe up & down staires, & unable to stirr for som time; but heard som of my family crying out of hurt below: at last I got down, my foot as if it were dead, & Leg full of paine, but wth help got to lie down on a bed; my Elbow seemed out of joynt, & Arm hung down like a stick, wth m^{ch} paine in it, but my fingers seemed dead: I have a bruise on my face, but suppose it might be wth my fall. In less y^a an hour, I found life in all my Limbs, & y^t no bone was broken or out of joynt, unless som small starting out of a bone in my wrist (praised be ye Lord) I find ye post I was by shivered on 3 sides. But to com to ye Rest; ye Lightning came downe ye Chimney, brake out som bricks just above ye mautletree; Hurt my wife & English maid on their heads, & ye Negro on her right Arm, yet all pretty well againe (thro' mercy) it bowed out two paines of glass in y^e kitchin but brake out no glass, & on ye other side ye house beat out ye bottom of a paille, & touched severall pewter platters: on y^e top of y^e kitchin Chimney it brake out about 20 bricks; & on ye other side of ye Roof made an hole about 8 foot long, & then beat out ye North end of ye kitchin Chamber about 8 foot long & 3 foot wide, & tore out many other boards at y^e end. without doores it killd me a Cow, & in ye stable one Lamb, w^{ch} y^e Lord accepted of instead of our Lives. How unsearchable are his wayes & paths past finding out &c. I find no mark on my body, but a blue spot on my heele a $\frac{1}{2}$ of an Inch long & $\frac{1}{2}$ so wide, & somewhat sore, & one spot on ye sole of my foot, but not sore. taken out of his own Letter sent to his Bro: Wilson in Charlestowne.

*A Remarkable Experim^t tryed upon a
Deaf & Dumb man.*

Wee pricked a knife's point (saith M^r. Morton in his Discourse of ye sense of Hearing) into ye belly of an Harpsicot, causing him to hold ye haft in his Teeth, then two of us severally played in his sight, ye one Harmonically som 'Tunes, ye other afterward struck a Confused Discord, clashing many of ye keyes at once: ye poor man expressed wonderfull Joy at ye Harmony, & embraced him y^t had played it; but withall showed as m^{ch} displeasure & Contempt of him y^t had troubled

him wth ye Discord. Then blindfold we set him in ye former posture ; & he y^t before had Clashed, now play'd Regularly ; & ye other y^t before had made musick, now Jumbled wth ye keyes, this we did severall times, shifting hands as we thought fit ; & between every time unbound his Eyes. The man still after a musical playing shewed his kindness & gratitude to him whom he had seen play, wth at first it pleased him, & so on the contrary. By w^{ch} it appeared plainly, y^t tho' he mistook ye persons, yet he very well pceived y^e sound & it's affections, & Distinguished betweene y^e Harmony & y^e Discord, wth an answerable satisfaction, or Regret.

M^r Morton gives this Instance to note a probability y^t y^e mouth is not devoid of a power of perceiving sound ; & y^t by ye tender nerves of y^e Teeth. &c.

A Violent Noyse may so Disorder the Brayn, as to render it unapt for its proper functions, ever after.

An Instance wherof, M^r Morton Relates (in his Discourse of ye sense of Hearing) in a Child, carryed in Armes, but of a quick apprehension, a Drum being beat close to ye child suddainly, as soon as ye Dru^m began to beat, ye child was Imediately taken wth a grievous Convulsion, the Countenance Distorted, & all understanding driven away ; & so it continued for wth it was of 20 yeares of age, he saw it a Natural foole ; & enquiring ye Cause, his parents gave the afores^d beat of y^e Dru^m as ye reason. tho. he Remembers not y^t ye hearing was therby much Impaired.

1689

April 18 Since the change of Government in this Land, by y^e Vacating our Chartar, & setting up a new form, first by a presid^t & Council, w^{ch} was done May 18th 1686. upon y^e Arrival of y^e Rose frigot, wherin M^r Edw^d Randolph brought a Comission for M^r Jos. Dudley, Presid^t & sundry other Gentlemen to be of y^e Council ; and then by a Governour & Council, upon the arrival of S^r Edm^d Andros, in the Kingfisher on y^e 18th day of December Anno 1686. whose Comission from King James ye 2^d Constituted y^e said S^r Edm^d to be Cap^t Generall & Governor in Chiefe of his Maj^{ties} Territory & Dominion of Newengland, in w^{ch} Commission sundry persons were joyned in Comission wth him as his Council : After w^{ch} other plantations were added to ye same Governm^t as Connecticut, New-york, East & west Jerzy &c. wherby ye Territory under ye same Governour was Extended to near 600 miles in length : I say these changes befell us, great & manyfold oppressions by fines, Imprisonm^t, illegal & arbitrary prosecutions of many particular persons began to grow upon us, with Excessive charges in all Lawsuits & other matters in Courts, as also a claiming in ye name of ye King, all our Lands, especially such Lands as were not under personall & particular Improvem^t, & y^e same in part, (& more designed to be) given to such who would petition & pay yearly acknowledgm^t & the large

fees stated, for y^e same, besides many other grievances wth no way appeared to redress, but men were made offenders for a word &c. The people in Boston & in y^e Townes adjacent did this day rise as one man, & having seized Cap^t George Commander of ye Rose & others; Drums were beat in Boston & sundry persons appearing form'd themselves into Companies under ye Comānd of such Leaders as were well approved of for ye Design in hand: The Governo^r & severall others who had been his Creatures, fled to y^e fort, & there stood upon their defence; above a thousand men were soon in Armes in Boston, chiefly of y^e Towne, & partly from Charlestowne, & Roxbury; also six or 700 men marched down out of Middlesex to Charlestown y^e same day under y^e Comānd of Cap^t Nath. Wade, & there quartered y^e night, y^e Companies in Armes at Boston, Marched to y^e fort, took y^e lower fort with ye great Artillery; y^e Redcoates ordered by y^e Governo^r to Issue out of y^e fort & fire upon them, but being come down ye Hill fired not a gun, but ran back to ye fort againe: Boston having taken y^e lower fort & great Guns, Loaded them, & planted y^m right against y^e fort; then Simon Bradstreet Esq. wth divers, Gentlemen, some of y^e Council, & others of ye former Governm^t, formd y^m. into a Council & sent in writing to y^e Governo^r under their hands, their advice to him to surrender y^e Governm^t & forts, least ye Country now up should storm ye same, & take it by force, wth would be ye occasion, of bloodshed, &c. The Governo^r wth others at length came down to y^e Council, sitting in y^e Town house; & after some discourse resignd all up

An Acco^t of my severall Marriages, to whom, & y^e time wth, & y^e time of the deaths of such of y^e as God hath removed: Also y^e Names of my children whom God hath graciously given me, by whom, wth borne, & y^e time of y^e decease of such whom God hath bereaved me of.

I was marryed to Audria Eaton, a Virgin, in Charlestowne in New england (who came y^e yeare before from London) on y^e 30th day of September 1662. who dyed in child-bed in Charlestowne on y^e 27th day of August 1663.

I was marryed to M^r. Abigail Willet, widow of M^r. Jn^o Willet, Youngest Daught^r of M^r. Edward Collins of Meadford in N. England, on y^e 12th day of May 1665. who Dyed of a Malignant feaver on y^e first day of february 167 $\frac{1}{2}$ in y^e morning

I was marryed in Charlestowne to M^r. Margaret Willoughby, widow of Francis Willoughby Esq. on y^e 8th day of February 167 $\frac{1}{2}$. Margaret who dyed of a feaver on y^e 2^d day of February 168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

I was marryed in Charlestowne to M^r. Anne Gerrish, widow of D^r. W^m Gerrish on y^e 14th day of January 168 $\frac{1}{2}$. whom God yet is pleased to spare to me

By my wife Audria, I had a sonne, named Francis, borne August y^e 19th 1663. who about y^e age of 18 yeares was bound to M^r. Nicho: Follet, Marriner of Pascataqua for 5 yeares; whose time being expired,

He went to sea upon His own Acco^t, having y^e Commendation of all y^e knew Him for Sobriety & good proficiency in y^e Marriner's Art, & very hopefull in reference to true piety. The last Voyage He made Francis was from Boston in a Vessel of Colonel Shrimpton's, W^m Everton M^r: bound for Madera's, after their discharge from y^e port they touched at Barmuda, & from thence home; & on y^e 24th day of November 1688. being come into Nantasket Bay, betw: 7 & 8 at night, y^e wind not serving to com up, they came to an Ankor; my son Francis was in y^e foretop, furling y^e foretopsaile, & from thence fell downe, struck upon y^e ship-side, & into y^e Sea, being (as its thought) struck dead wth y^e blow, soon sunk, & was never more seen, no boat nor hands ready to save him.

By my wife Abigail, I [had] one son & four Daughters.

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| Martha. | 1. Martha: borne y ^e 6 th of April 1666. who dyed y ^e 7 th of June. 1666. |
| Abigail. | 2. Abigail, borne y ^e 27. of April 1667. yet living. |
| John. | 3. John, borne y ^e 1 st of May 1669. who dyed y ^e 8 of Sep ^r 1669 |
| Jane. | 4. Jane.. borne y ^e 10 th of August 1670. who dyed y ^e 25 of Dec ^r 1681. |
| Elizabeth | 5. Elizabeth, borne y ^e 13 th of July. 1672. yet living. |
- By my wife Margaret I had no Child.
- By my present wife Anne, I had Laurence, borne November y^e 23^d 1685. who dyed the 1st day of October 1689. by bladd^r grown in his throat, begun on fryday Sep^r 28th wth ended his life on tuesday foll. betw: 7 & 8 at night. (a pleasant child)
- Francis Also Francis, borne Sep^r 13th about one in y^e morning, yet Living. tho' now ill.

This Record I have here made this 2^d day of Octob^r 1689.

Attested by LAUR. HAMMOND.

Francis, my youngest sonne, taken wth a Hoarsnes in y^e morning before day, dyed this 2^d day of October 1689. betweene 8 & 9 at night of y^e same distemper (as we Judg) wherof his brother Laurence dyed y^e night before. They were both buried in one Grave October 4th following. All my 3 sonnes dead within y^e Compass of a yeare. Of eight Children wth God hath given me, but two Daughters (Abigail & Elizabeth) are now living. The Lord gives, & y^e Lord takes; blessed be y^e name of y^e Lord.

Nov. 1 M^r: Tho: Fairweather sailed for London, in a New ship built by M^r [Samuel] Ballat this yeare. M^r Rich^d: Daniel saild in him fryday morning.

January 30 This day my Daughter Abigail was joyned in Marriage unto Luke Greenough son of M^r: W^m: Greenough of Boston, Shipwright, by M^r: Charles Morton Minister at Charlestowne.

February 10 This day sailed from Boston bound for London, M^r: Bant

& in him S^r Edm^d Andross, late Gov^r of Newengland, M^r Jos. Dudley, M^r Palmer, M^r Raudolph M^r West, M^r Graham & others, who are sent home to y^e King, as by his Letter arrived here in November last.

Likewise M^r Rich^d Martin sailed y^e same day, & in him D^r Elisha Cook D^r Thomas Oakes & M^r Ichhabod Wiswall, who are sent by y^e Convention to Implead y^e afores^d Gentlemen. They Anchored at Nantasket, y^e wind coming Southerly. M^r Martin Anchored not, but saild direct away.

11 Court of Midd^l holden in Charlestown by adjournm^t, Jn^r Walker tryed about being y^e father of a Bastard child, brought forth by Mary Phipps Solomon Phipps Lame Daughter. She lays it to him, y^e child dead.

1688

February 12 The Convention removed from Boston (y^e smallpox encreasing there) to Charlestowne this day.

15 Cap^t Bant, wth S^r Edmund &c is said to Sail from Nantasket for London.

19 M^r Rob^t Wallis of this Town, sailed for London, in a Brigantine, M^r Woodgate saild in her.

John Rayner came in from y^e Bay of Campeach, loaden wth logwood.

21 The Convention, adjourned to

March 1 Satuday, Wind high, at W. fair & cold:

2. Stephen Codman's child baptized. Wind at W. High & cold.

3. Generall meeting of y^e Inhabitants of Charlestowne, to choose Officers

Constables chosen are M^r W^m Welsted sen^r

Natha^l Kettle

Natha^l Davis.

Joseph Frost.

Selectmen chosen are Cap^t Rich^d Sprague

Peter Tuffts

Rich^d Lowden

Natha^l Rand

Peter Fowle

Sam^l Hunting

James Miller.

Clerk of y^e Writts chosen is Laur. Hammond

Wind at W N W. blew very hard & cold

L^t Nickols } 4 Tuesday, wind at S. a fair, moderate day.
fell & }
brake his } 5 Wedensday, wind at E., & snow: at night wind at
leg } N. W. & cleer, blew hard

6 Thursday, Publ. Fast. Wind at W. & N. W. blew very hard all day & all night Extreame Cold freezing weather.



7 Fryday, clear day, wind at N. W. blew very hard, Extreem cold & freezing.

8 Saturday, Haizy sky, wind at N. W. blew moderate, but exceeding cold, som snow in y^e afternoon, wind at S. W. in y^e night N W. blew hard & Exceeding cold.

March 9 Lord's day, wind at N. W. blew hard an Exceeding cold freezing day. clear weath^r

10 Munday, wind at W. blew fresh, Exceeding cold morning, afternoone more moderate: a very sharp, freezing night.

11 Tuesday, wind at W. a moderate, still day.

County Court sat by Adjournm^t at Charlestowne, & allowed of y^e Towne's choice of me for Clerk of y^e writts.

12 Wednesday, wiud at S. E. & E. snow y^e forenoone, rainey, misty afternoon, moderate

13 Thursday, wind at N. E. som raine, still, moderate, cloudy day.

14 Fryday, wiud at E. & snow afternoone, cloudy, still, moderate day.

15 Saturday, wind at E. still cloudy, morning, then snow & yⁿ raine Clutterbuck all [nit, in cypher]: M^r Clutterbuck arrived from y^e Canaries with wine, yesterday.

16 Lords day, Raine all day, moderate weather, wiud at E. clear at night wind at W. M^r Morton preached in y^e forenoone, & Administred y^e Sacram^t: this is y^e first time I was at y^e Sacram^t, since my confinem^t Young M^r Peirpoint Afternoon.

17 Munday, Wiud at W. N. W. blew a hard gale in y^e forenoon; little, afternoone. a calm, moderate night.

18 Tuesday; wind E. came to S in y^e Evening & cloudy; blew fresh in y^e night.

19 Wednesday wind at S. & raine till near Noon, yⁿ fair, wind at S. W & moderate.

20 Thursday, a fair day, wind at N. moderate weather, wind came to N. E. Major Appleton & L^t Stacey Lodged our House: y^e Convention still in Charlestown. This day came a post enforming y^t yesterday, y^e Indians came to Nuchawannick [Berwick, Maine] & had don m^{ch} spoile.

21 Fryday, wind at N. E. cloudy, cold day, som raine in y^e night. Maj. Apleton & His L^t lodged againe at our house.

The Enemy at Nuchawannick have burned about 30 Houses, & Nuchawan- killd & carryd away about 80 persons; wherof about 30 nock de- men. they were set upon by a parcel of English y^t came to destroyed ye Town's reliefe, they fought till night parted y^m 2 of our men slaine & about 7 or 8 much wounded: we know not of one Indian slaine: one frenchman taken prisoner: y^e Enemy said to be not above 60. ye meeting house burnt.¹

¹ For other particulars of this attack, see Proceedings, vol. xiv. p. 126.

22 Saturday. Wind at N. E. a cold, cloudy day. Maj^r Appleton went home.

a man Yesterday a man fell out of a shallop in y^e river coming up
drownd to this Town & was drowned, it was Vee's shallop.

our Cow } 23 Lords day, a cloudy, moderate day, wiind at S. at night,
Calved } warm, moist Aire, wind blew hard in y^e night.

24 Munday, wind at S. blew very hard, dark showry weather;
wind at S E. in Evening & m^{ch} raine till about 10 at night;

25 Tuesday, wind at S. W. blew very hard, fair: calm tow^d even-
ing, rain at night, wind at N. E. My wife & I went to Boston, visited
M^r Clutterbuck.

26 Wedensday, wind at N. E. & raine at times till within night.
weather moderate

27 Thursday, wind at N. W. blew fresh, fair, moderate weather.

28 Fryday, wind at N. E. Haizy weather, moderate.

March 29 Saturday, wind at E. & raine, moderate weather.

30 Lord's day, wind at S. W. a fair moderate day, Moon changed.

31 Munday, wind at S. E. & N. E. & calm at nigh[t], a fair moderate day.

All this week to saturday, fair weather & seeturns every day, calm
nights. I went wth my wife & son & Daughter Greenough to Winnisimet.

April 2 Wednesday, I planted my Rose pease.

4 Fryday, my wife & I walked to Ben: Bowers.

6 Lords-day, wind at W & N. W. blew fresh, fair, cool day. M^r
Metcalf Metcalf made his confession before y^e Church of y^e sin of
fornication.

7 Munday, wind at N. a fair, moderate day, wind at N. E. in y^e night
M^r Welsted M^r Welsted in Gov^r Andrews Sloop, sailed for London,
being sent by y^e present Governm^t on y^e 2 or 3^d instant.

8 Tuesday, wind at N. E. som snow in y^e forenoon, then rain all
day, a storm of wind & rain at night.

28 S^r W^m Phipps Chiefe & about 700 men in 3 or 4 Vessels fitted
as men of Warre (Cypr: Southdeck, who rec^d a fre of mart from y^e
King being one) saild, being design'd by those now in Governm^t ag^t
y^e french forts at y^e Eastward to take y^m.

May 4 Lords day, a Brave soaking Raine.

From thence until y^e 14th day dry, faire, moderate, weather.

14 Raine, very refreshing; wind at N. E. & E.

12 Arrived from London Tho. Gilbert in M^r Belchar's ship.

15 Thursday, wind blew fresh at S. W. fair, moderate weather, a
shower.

17 Saturday, a considerable raine in y^e night preceding & this morn-
ing. wind at E.

Casco { This day & yesterday fatal for y^e desolating of Casco by
y^e Enemy. as y^e news of it was brought to us on Munday
night pticulars not known. all killd & taken.

22 Thursday, News from S^r W^m Phipps, y^e forts [at Port Royal] surrendered, much plunder taken.

My wife & I rod this day to Wenham, to B^r Gerrish's

28 Wednesday, we returned home, thro' Salem, dined at Benj^t Gerish's & thence home in y^e Evening.

Election carried on this day as foll. viz.

Simon Bradstreet Esq. Gov^r Tho. Danforth. D. G.

July 3 Our Cow went to L^t Nickol's pasture in y^e Evening of this day.

August 3 A fire brake out in Boston, betw: 2 & 3 in y^e morning, by y^e Millbridge, w^{ch} consumed about 30 Buildings, y^e cause not known. a Young man's thigh being brake, he dyed soon.

9 The Fleet, consisting of about 32 Ships & Vessels, w^{ch} about 2200 men, under S^r W^m Phipps, General, bound to Canada, ag^t y^e French, saild this Evening.

14 A Seizure was made of Col. Potter & all his Letters, who being sent by Cap^t Nickolson, Gov^r of Virginia, hether by Land, was ready to return back to him, with a great quantity of Letters to him & others, w^{ch} Ires so seized by a Warr^t from som in Boston, were opened & read by y^e Council, & som kept, & som redelivered to y^e Messenger, & suffered to depart y^e next day: Som have been called to acco^t for w^t they writ, & others expect y^e like. How congruous this is to y^e obtaining their Charter, they have been suing for, & how acceptable it wilbe to his Maj^{ty} y^e world may judge.

Sep^t 5 Jos. Lynde jun^r saild for Barbados in a Ketch, W^m Gerish saild wth him at 20/s 7 men.

16 A fire brake out in Boston, this night about 11 of y^e Clock, in the house of one Cornish, & so prevaild y^t 5 Houses were burnt by y^e South Meeting-house, L^t Reynalds stone House, y^e timber work all consumed, in y^e flame wherof, y^e Meeting house was several times fired, but by y^e Industry & activity of Cap^t Cypr: Southdeck, & som others, (thro' God's great mercy) y^e fire was still put out, & y^e Meeting house preserved, w^{ch} had if fire prevaild upon, y^e whole Town, at least to Leeward, had been endangered, y^e wind blowing fresh at S. W.

a youth about 12 years of age was consumed in y^e flames in the s^d Cornish's House.

It is said, y^e Man of y^e House himself had carelesly stuck up a lighted Candle ag^t y^e claboards within y^e House, & y^e went forth to an Alehouse to drink, & forgetting his Candle, there staid till his house was on fire.¹

¹ Other particulars of this fire are found in the "PUBLICK OCCURRENCES Both FOREIGN and DOMESTICK. Boston, Thursday Sept. 25th, 1690," the first newspaper ever printed on this continent. See "The Historical

17 My Daughter Abigail Greenough, was delivered this morning about 3 of y^e Clock of a Daughter, y^e her full time not being com, by at least a month.

Nov. The first Vessel Returned from Quebeck, bring newes of our defeat there, all Returning home, many dead & more sick of small-pox, fevers & fluxes, besides som slain by y^e Enemy ; like to be a great mortality.

Decemb^r 1 A Pink, wherof M^r Jos. Buckly was M^r full Loaden, bound for Jamaica, by carelesnes of 2 persons on board, was
Fire fired & burnt to y^e water. she rode at Anchor in Boston.

22 The Green Dragon in Boston, kept by Mother Wilmot (now Smith) took fire between 12 & one this Morning, & burnt
Fire down, no other House fired, no wind & good help, & snow upon y^e Neighbo^r Houses, was a means of their p^rservation. Very little in y^e House saved.

27 About 2 in y^e morning Cap^t Dan. Turin's shop was
Fire burnt down (; no other mischief y^e I hear of) in Boston.

1691

May 13 Hyred a Cow of Abrah. Hill, for y^e Summer, from this day till 7ber 13th for 20/s. she is put into y^e pasture y^t was Lieu^t Nichols, to pay 20/s. for Sum^ring.

This Cow proving unruly & unlucky, so as none could milk her, was returned to Hills y^e same day.

14 Agreed wth Jn^o & Hannah Newel jun^r for halfe y^e milk for this Summer wth y^e Cow we sold y^m shall give, until y^e season for Housing coms. We paying for her pastorage, wth is to be 20/s as abovesaid.

19 M^r Mary Trumbal & y^e Wife of Sam. Reid, being sentenced at an Adjournm^t of y^e pretended Court in this County on fryday 15th instant to pay a fine of £5. 0. 0. each, & give bond of £20. 0. 0 wth sureties for y^e good behaviour, & not to sell any more drink, were Ordered to stand Committed till y^e sentence were fulfilled hereupon Sam. Gookin, y^e pretended Marshal, takes y^m under his Custody & puts y^m into M^r Jackson's House, & there orders y^m to abide; where they stayed y^t night & until Munday y^e 18th; but they sending to y^e Marshal for a

Magazine " (I. 228-231), August, 1857, for a copy made by me thirty-five years ago. The account of the fire is as follows :—

" Altho' *Boston* did a few weeks ago, meet with a Disaster by *Fire*, which consumed about *twenty Houses* near the *Mill-Creek*, yet about midnight, between the sixteenth and seventeenth of this Instant, *another Fire* broke forth near the *South-Meeting-House*, which consumed about five or six houses, and had almost carried the Meeting-house itself, one of the fairest Edifices in the Country, if God had not remarkably assisted the Endeavours of the People to put out the Fire. There were two more considerable Circumstances in the Calamities of this Fire, one was that a young man belonging to the House where the Fire began, unhappily perished in the Flames; it seems that tho' he might sooner awake than some others who did escape, yet he some way lost those Wits that should have taught him to help himself. Another was that the best furnished PRINTING PRESS, of those few that we know of in *America* was lost; a loss not presently to be repaired."

Coppy of their Mittimus, he told y^e Messeng^r he had none, but supposed y^e Clerk had it; Sam. Phipps y^e Clerk being spoken wth, said, he had none, but he believ'd y^e Marshal had it, & if he had none, y^e there was none granted. These Women hereupon were advised to return to their families, for they could not be detained prison^r without Mittimus longer y^e y^e Court was sitting; by colour of no Law; wth Court ended on y^e said 15th instant They accordingly came to their Houses on Munday.

But on this 19th day, comes y^e said Gookin to Charlestown, & without any Warr^t brake open M^r. Trumbal's House, Rob^t Wyer's House & Dan. Smith's House, where he found & seiz'd M^r. Trumbal; His Warr^t being demanded for so doing, he said, he was y^e Kings Officer & needed no Warr^t; & y^e by vertue of his office he could break open any house, or all y^e Houses in Town, if he saw meet, or words to this effect.

Cap^t Sprague told me, y^e in his hearing at Geo. Monk's in Boston, & in y^e Hearing of many more, M^r Andrew Belcher of Charlestown, on y^e 18th instant did say, y^e y^e Jury y^e found Leysler & his Accomplices guilty, & Dudley y^e Judg who Condemu'd y^m to death, deserved to be Hanged y^m; & it was pittie Dudley had not been Hanged w^h he was in England. present at y^e same time Piam Blower, Benj^t. Alford & many others.

20 Pretended Election at Boston.

June 2 Their Court adjourned to October

3 Elizabeth Robinson came to us, to serve for Wages at £3. 0. 0. y^e yeare

July 25 One Rich^d Lilly, com in from y^e Westindies in one Robinson y^e day before, being handing small Armes into Charles Hopkins boat at Boston, to be carryed on shore, took one Gun & Hopkins holding y^e muzzle towrd Hopkins, said, old man here's a shot. gun for you. & immediately y^e Gun fired & shot y^e said Hopkins into y^e body, wherof he presently dyed. This Hopkins wife is Maj^r. Heuchman's sister: & Rich^d Lilly is old Lilly's son y^e Cooper.

August 4 By a Vessel from New-York, we have y^e sad Newes of Col. Henry Sloughter's death, y^e Kings Gov^r there, who dyed suddenly.

Sep^r 2 At Dunstable, one man, his wife & son & patrick Mark's Daughter kill'd by Indians.¹

29 Barachiah Arnold, Arrived from London.

Octob. 2 Cap^t Jn^o ffoy sailed for London.

Sep^r 21 Cap^t W^m. Symms dyed of a feaver.

Octob. 16 M^r Rich. ffooster sailed for London.

25 One Gutteridge & his wife & 3 more, Living in ye bounds of Rowly were Murdered by Indians, two more of y^e family missing. this was on y^e Sabbath Evening.

26 A merch^t & a master, lately com from Bristoll (y^e merch^t name

¹ The victims of this murderous assault were Joseph Hassell, Anna, his wife, and Benjamin, their son, and Mary, daughter of Peter Marks. The scene of the massacre lies now within the limits of the city of Nashua, New Hampshire.

was Martindale) & one Shortridge, M^r Gilbert's Mate, & 2 other men, all Drowned, coming up from y^e Ilands in y^e night, wind at N. W. in Gilberts Yaul, supposed to overset. y^e Wind blowing very hard, not one saved.

It is Reported, another family is Cut off by y^e Enemy at Aimsbury this night.

Novemb. 8 A Violent Storm of Wind & Rain at S. did much harm to Wharfes &c.

One man Drowned out of a Woodboat in y^e South River on Mistick-side, a Boston man.

12 A flight of snow about an hour, Wind at N. W. w^{ch} continued blowing very hard, & Extreame Cold, freezing weather, till Saturday Evening y^e 14th

14 John ffoster sailed for Barbadoes.

16 At night, began a Storm at N. E. very much Wind, Snow & Haile all night, Less wind y^e next day, snow continued more or less till night. A Vessel from Madera Castaway at Cape Cod this storm, one More was master. men, & most of y^e Goods saved.

18 A clear, sharp day, fresh gale at N. W.

22 Fair, sunshine weather Wind at N. W. & freezing nights & mornings all the last week from y^e 18th day till this day, w^{ch} there was little or no Wind; cloudy at night;

23 Munday, Wind at S. E. cloudy, moderate weather; Rain at night, all night, more or less.

24 Tuesday, Wind at N. & NNE. moist, misty weather & Cold: but thawing.

25 Wednesday: Wind at N & NNE. Bleu hard in y^e morning & snow all day more or less, cold, but thawing.

26 Thursday, Wind at N. W. fair Weather.

29 Sabbath, a Very cold day, snow & rain at night, Wind S. E. Little of it

Nov. 30 Munday, Wind at N. W. cloudy, misty weather, clear at night.

I went to Boston wth M^r Knill, discoursed M^r Newton about his busines: also Comitted to M^r Newton y^e prosecuting M^r Pool's bonds at next Court, I gave him 12^s

M^r Sheafe promised to com over to me this week, & if M^r Ellis did not, he would make up w^{ch} I had already rec^d of M^r Ellis 30^s for ye writings drawn betw. them.

Dec. 1 Tuesday, a moderate day, raine at night, little or no wind.

2 Wednesday, Wind at N. E. Rain & snow. & much rain at night, blew hard.

M^r Knill [This line is written in cypher; and for a translation by our associate, Mr. Upham, see his letter printed below.]¹

¹ NEWTONVILLE, MASS., Jan. 16, 1892.

DR. SAMUEL A. GREEN:

MY DEAR SIR, — The short-hand in Hammond's Journal, which you asked me to decipher, differs from any I have ever met with. Among the twenty or

Mary Martin came this day to our House to Dwell.

6 Good, moderate weather till day; wth was cold & still; in y^e night Raine & m^{ch} winds at E & S. E. M^r Jonath. Russel preached this afternoon in Joh. 1. 12.

7 a faire day, wind at N. W. moderate weather.

8 Tuesday, wind at N. & N. E. a moderate, still day, Rain all night, wind at E & S E.

This Afternoon M^r Dudley came over & wth him, Cap^t ffoxcraft & Cap^t Davis; M^r Graves, Cap^t Sprague, Cap^t Hunting, M^r Jn^r fflowle & myselfe treated y^m at Sumers wth a Glass of Wine, Maj^r Hinchman, came to Town this Evening & was in y^e Company.

9 Wedensday, Wind at N. E. Rain all day. cleer night. Wind at NW.

10 Thursday, fair, moderate day, wind at S. W.

11 fryday, fair, moderate day, wind at S. W.

Jn^r Pullen came in from Jamaica; W^m Gerish wth him.

M^r Newton & M^r Pool came over to me; Mr Pool proposed to pay £38. money & 20^s M^r Newton's fees for a final issue. I told him if ye Women concerned w^d accept it, I w^d be satisfyed, & w^d give M^r Newton a speedy acco^t therof. I accordingly spake wth M^r Long & M^r Tuck, who did both accept his proposals.

12 from this day to y^e 17th moderate weather & som Raine.

18 Tho. Gilbert saild for Jamaica. Wind at N. W. blew hard, a flight of snow, cold weather.

19 Saturday, wind at W. & W & by N. blew hard, faire weather & cold.

28 W^m Gerrish, shipped on a sloop, bound for Mountserratt, Edw. Loyd M^r: at 40^s & 3^d mense.

January 22 Cap^t Dolbury arrived at Cape Cod from London, Rob^t Orchard a passenger in him, came to Boston by Land y^e 26th day. brought not one Letter wth him from on board, sent from London. a Bre to Coll. page from y^e M^r, he brought, wth informs y^t S^r W^m Phipps is coming Gen^l Gov^r over all y^e territory from y^e East end of Newyork to y^e West end of Newfoundland. y^t ffoy & Quelah & Bant are taken Bob. Orchard tells y^e same; y^e News of y^e Gov^r they rec^d at plim^o 6 weekes passage from plym^o, y^t Ware & Gillam came out wth them

more short-hand alphabets existing before 1692 the only one that furnishes a clew is that of Thomas Skelton, 1650, which is the same, substantially, as that of Elisha Coles, 1674. A few of the characters are double consonants or arbitrary symbols not given in the alphabet, so that their meaning can only be conjectured. What is doubtful is given within brackets. Using Skelton's alphabet, I make the entries to read as follows:—

1691, Dec. 2. "Mr Knill [th]is m[or]ning told me [at our] h[ou]s[e]: t[hat] he was sur[e] he sh[ou]ld n[ot] liv[e] 30 da[y]s mor[e]: he was in a pa[y]ing: to [save] being [attached?]"

1694, May 8. "Jos. Arnald for Antigua. / — mistris ha[]d went down to Nantasket:—"

1694, June 24. "myself presenting her to [him] to be baptized."

Very truly yours,

WILLIAM P. UPHAM.

January 14 A Fast thro' the Colonie by order of Gen^l Court,

24 Sabbath day morning sayled sundry Vessels from Nantasket, among whom, Barachiah Arnold & Edw. Loyd for Mountserrat.

25 York at y^e Eastward, Attaqued by French & Indians, most of y^e Town burnt; 140 persons, missing, about 40 found killd & buried by Cap^t flood & his Company, who lay in pay at pascataq. when this ruine befell York, & went After y^e mischiefe was don, to bury y^e dead. M^r Shubal Dummer, Minister of ye Town found cut in pieces.

Febr. 15 My Daughter Elizabeth Peirson was delivered of a son, in Boston.

S^r W^m Temple in a Treatise of his, thus describes King W^m of England. He is a prince of great firmnes to w^h he promises or denies; He speaks little but thiinks much; Ambitious to be great; a prunice of great vertues & no apparent Vices.

23 Rain began in y^e night, & continued all y^e week, more or less to rain wth much wind betw. y^e S. E & N. E.

28 Likewise much rain & wind. Som raine y^e 29th also.

March 1 Wind at N. W. & cleare weather.

These raines, wth y^e Violent sudden melting of y^e snow in y^e Wildernes caused such a sudden & Violent flood y^t hath done abundance of damage in most parts of y^e Country, carrying away bridges, Mills &c. Connecticut river 3 f^t higher yⁿ ever it was known before, destroyed mth Cattel in y^e meadows, carryed away som Houses, & washed away in many places y^e very land wth y^e English graine sown in it.

Febr. 25 My Daughter Abigail [widow of Luke Greenough] was married, before M^r Sewell to M^r James Whippo of Barnstable.

March 1 My wife & I set out on Horsback wth son & Daughter Whippo for Barnstable, but at Roxbury were informed y^e waters were so high & wayes so bad we could not pass. We returned to Boston.

2 We took passage in a Sloop, Sam. Allen M^r in y^e morning, but y^e wind being contrary we put into Cunnihasset [Cohasset] & landed there at night; from thence we travailld by land

7 & arrived at Barnstable on Munday night y^e 7th instant.

19 My wife & I set out from Barnstable came to Sandwich, staid y^e Sabbath, lodged at M^r Prince's.

21 We came to plimouth, lodged at M^r Cottons.

22 We came to Braintree, lodged at M^r fisks.

23 We came safe home, thro' Gods mercy.

1692

Apr. 18 Susanna Burrage came to us to serve for wages at 4^s.
 7 annũ.

Parson Gerish first went to School to M^r Emerson.

21 M^r Steph: Codman's sloop launched, built by M^r Row.

29 M^r Jn^o foster arrived from Barbadoes.

May 3 M^r Dudley arrived from N. York.

4 An Election held at Boston, y^e only change made, was, M^r W^m Johnson of Wooburn left out & Maj^r Jn^o Richards taken in.

11 Cap^t Elisha Bennet's ship was launched by Edw^d Johnson.


14 S^r W^m. Phipps arrived in y^e Evening (being Saturday) in y^e Non-such friggot, Cap^t Staples in a Hakeboat in Compay, & a french prize by y^m taken on Newfoundland-banks, loaden wth Sugar, bound for france from Martinico.

16 Munday, 10 Companies in Arms, consisting in 8 of Boston & 2 of Charlestown, attended S^r W^m to y^e Townhouse where his Comission was read, to be Cap^t Gen^l & Gov^r in chiefe over Massachusets & plimouth; & y^e Kings Lieu^t over y^e militia in Connecticut, Road Iland & province of New-Hampshire. Likewise M^r Stoton's Comission to be Lieu^t or Deputy Gov^r & y^e Kings Deputy Lieu^t over y^e militia &c. M^r Addington Secretary included in y^e Gov^r's Comission, as likewise all y^e Council. M^r Stoughton gave y^e oath to y^e Gov^r as by Comission he was appointed y^e Secretary gave y^e oath to M^r Stoughton & y^e Council, such as were present.

26 Publike Fast held by order of y^e Governm^t

24 M^r Cary, wife of Nath. Cary, Committed to Cambridge prison, & put in Irons, upon suspiion of witchcraft.

Coppy of a Warr^t for an Assembly.

 *S^r W^m Phipps Kn^t Cap^t Gen^l & Gov^r in chiefe of their Maj^{ties} province of y^e Massachusets Bay in N. E. in America.
To y^e Constables or Constable of Charles town, Greeting.*

These are in y^e Maj^{ties} Names W^m & Mary by y^e grace of God of Engl^d, Scotland, France & Ireland K & Q: &c. to will & require you, upon rec^t hereof, forthwth to assemble at such time & place as you shall appoint, y^e freeholders & other Inhabitants of y^e s^d Town & place, qualified as in & by his Maj^{ties} Royal Charter for settling of y^e Governm^t of s^d province is directed, y^t is to say, such as have an Estate of freehold in land within y^e s^d province or Territory to y^e Value of 40/s 7 annu at least, or other Estate to y^e Value of 40^s sterl: to Elect & depute two psons & no more to serve for & represent y^m in a great or Gen^l Court or assembly for y^e s^d province, by me appointed to be convened, held & kept at y^e Townhouse in Boston upon Wednesday y^e 8th day of June next ensuing y^e date hereof for their Maj^{ties} Service; w^{ch} person so Elected or deputed by y^e major part of y^e s^d freeholders & other Inhabitants who shalbe present at y^e s^d Election, you are timely to Sumon to attend y^e s^d great & Gen^l Court or assembly y^e day above prefixed by 9 in y^e morning & make return of this writ wth yo^r doings therin under yo^r hand, into y^e Secretary's Office y^e day before y^e s^d Assembly's meeting; hereof fail not as you will answer

y^r neglect. Given under my hand & seal at Boston y^e 20th of May 1692, in y^e 4th year of their s^d Maj^{ties} Reign.

W^m PHIPPS

June 1 The freeholders of Charlestown met to choose Assembly-men Major Phillips chosen Moderatour.

It was proposed by M^r Graves to Enquire who had a right in Voting & y^t a list of their names might be taken; but y^t was not approved. They were not willing to question any present.

The manner of Voting being discoursed, M^r Graves proposed by polling according to y^e way of England; but Voting by papers was preferred before it; M^r Morton being y^e Chiefe speaker, did wth great Vehemency (& as little prudence) inveigh agst y^e manner of Choosing parliam^t men in England, calling it prophane & wicked &c.

They carryed it by a Vote to choose by papers; & y^e minor part of y^e Voters present chose Jacob Green sen^r & Sam^l. Phipps; above 40 Voters present refused to Vote in y^t way, & so Voted not at all; many of whom refused to Vote, only because they carryed it in y^t way. Divers freeholders we find were not warned to y^e meeting so y^t It is Judged an illegal choise.

2 A Court of Oyer & Terminer held at Salem this day, W^m Stoughton Esq, Judge, to try severall of those who are accused of Witchcraft.

3 An old Woman, wife of one Bishop of Salem (her name was formerly Olliver) found guilty, & condemned to be hanged.

6 The Conception, a man of Warre Comanded by Cap^t Fairfax arrived here from Virginia, being ordered from Whitehall to guard this Coast, as he shall receive orders from y^e Governo^r. She is a french prize, a 5th Rate, 32 guns

8 The Assembly Convened at Boston.

y^e Con- 10 Cap^t Sprague myselfe & divers others of our Town, demned woman was went down to y^e Ilands in Steph. Codman's Sloop, we came this day up in y^e Afternoon, & y^e Sloop & men Arms & Ammunition belonging to her were Impressed for y^e Kings service.

11 Tho: Het sen^r went up in Edw. Johnson's Cannoo tow^{ds} y^e Oyster banks near Cambridge River to get Oysters; he fell out of y^e Cannoo, about y^e point of marsh belonging to M^r Hills farm; none being wth him. M^r Hill heard a man Hallow, & casting his eyes y^t way, saw a Cannoo adrift & a man in y^e water; he hastned to him wth his boat, & found him on y^e flats drowned in not above 3 foot water. he took him up, & brought him to Town.

July 5 A fire began in y^e King's-Head Tavern in Boston, Fire by Halsy's Wharf, betw 11 & 12 at night, wth destroyed about 20 Dwelling Houses & Warehouses

6 Commencem^t day.

July 14 Publike Thanksgiving throughout y^e province, by ord^r of Gov^r & Council

17 The Moon almost totally Eclipsed.

19 Five persons Executed at Salem, being Convicted of Witchcraft.

20 I removed wth my family to Cap^t Jn^o Wing's House in Boston, at £12. ʒ annū Rent y^e stable included.

12 Leat to Seth Sweetsir y^e stable standing by y^e House Rented by Edw^d Johnson in Charlestown, at 15/^s ʒ annū.

Aug^r 3 Arrived Jn^o Bolston from Jamaica, who brought y^e tidings of y^e amazing Earthquake at y^e Iland, wherby y^e whole Town of port Royal (Except y^e back street) is sunk under water, & above 2000 Earthquak p^{er}sons suddenly destroyed, not a House upon y^e Iland, but is at Jamaica either down or greatly damnified. this hapned June 7th about noon, being tuesday, a faire, still day; y^e Town all well, & sunk, being overflowed by y^e sea in y^e space of 2 or 3 minutes; 4 or 5 fathom water & in som places more now over y^e Town.

4 A fast at y^e North-Church in Boston.

12 A fast at Charlestown.

A post from pascataq, gives acco^t of y^e arrival of y^e Mast ships, wth a man of warr of forty odd guns, in whom M^r Jn^o Usher came, L^t Gov^r of y^t province;

News from England, y^t on y^e 18th or 19th of May, y^e English & french fleets Engaged; y^t y^e french was routed, about 23 of their Capitoll Ships burnt & sunk, wherof y^e Admiral & Vice admiral, of 104 guns a ps, y^e rest most of 80 & 70 guns a ps, none under 60 guns. a little before this Engagem^t, a grand plot was discovered, wherein several Lords & Gentlemen were concerned to bring in King James.

13 Cap^t Bozinger arrived in Boston, who came wth y^e mast ships from London.

11 Leat to Daniel of Boston Butcher, y^e stable belonging to Cap^t Wings House, at 40/^s ʒ annū. Rent to begin when put in repaire; M^r Jn^o Fowl present at y^e Agreeem^t

15 The Stable repaired, y^e Rent began this day, being Munday

Sep^r 5 M^r Jn^o Foster sailed for Barbadoes, being Munday, a fair wind continued till Thursday morning.

Sep^r 16 Cap^t Jn^o Carter of Wooburn was buried (who dyed of a feaver) the bearers were, Cap^t W^m Johnson, Cap^t Jos. Lynde, Cap^t Jer. Swain, Cap^t Jn^o Brown, Cap^t Jonath. Danforth & myself. gloves to y^e bearers.

17 The Governo^r saild for Pemiquid in y^e sloop Mary.

y^e 20th 19 Cap^t Gilbert & Cap^t Emes arrived from Canada river, M^r Hough brought 2 they brought in wth y^e a french prize, a Flyboat, Judged about doz. Can- 300 Tuns full of french Goods, taken in y^e mouth of Canada, dles. bound up y^e River, from France, she is judged a Rich ship.

24 8 p^{er}sons hanged at Salem, & one pressed to death som dayes before being Condemned about Witchery. 21 in all have been Executed at Salem since y^e Court began.

26 I Rec^d of M^r Grace Ireland £12. 0. 0 in good p^s of $\frac{100}{100}$ for w^h I gave her a Bond under my hand & Seale to pay to her Husband M^r Juⁿ Ireland £12. 9. 6 in good & Lawfull money of N. E. on or before y^e 26 of march next; she promised y^t If they could spare it & I sh^d desire it, I might have it another halfe yeare.

M^r Juⁿ Ireland arrived from Nevis this Evening.

28 Cap^t Elisha Bennet sailed for Barbadoes & Cap^t Quelsh for Jamaica. They stopt at Nantasket.

29 The Governo^r arrived from Pemiquid.

Oct. 8 A Rainy day Wind at N. cleer night & a hard frost, wind N. W

9 Sabbath day, Wind at N. W. a very cold day.

1st snow 10 Snow in y^e morning, fair before noon, snow gone by Noon.

11 Maj^r Hinchman, lodged here this night, & desired quarters & lodging here till y^e Gen^l Assembly shall end. w^h we granted

12 Gen^l Assembly began; Cap^t Goodenow, began to Quarter here this night on y^e same occasion w^h Maj^r Hinchman.

15 Maj^r Hinchman went home after dinner. Cap^t Goodenow staid here.

30 The Man of Warre & Mast Ships saild from Pascatq., Mad^r Daniel & M^r Woodgate went Passengers.

Dec. 2 M^r Thwing saild for Montserat.

3 Edw^d Loyd saild for Montserat.

14 I rec^d a tre from B^r Parson, by one Monk, who arrived here y^e 12th day. in it a Bill Exchange drawn by M^r Anthony Hodges of Montserat for £36. 5. 0. payable to my Brother or order, by M^r James Leblond of Boston at 10 ds sight I did y^e same day present y^e Bill to him, who p^d y^e money on sight. It was signed by my Brother on y^e back side.

15 M^r James Berry Arrived from Jamaica, by whom we have y^e sad News of M^r Clutterbucks death after his arrival at Jamaica, taken sick Sep^r 24. dyed y^e 29th. Also of y^e continuance of y^e Earthquake, & a dreadfull mortality about 4000 dead since ye Earthquake, besides those y^t perished by it, Computed about 2000 persons.

18 Tuesday: Betty Palladay came home from M^r Taylors & Betty Gerrish went to M^r Taylor's in her place.

19 Cap^t Emes in y^e Flyboat S^t Jacob sailed for Salturtootha [Sal Tortugas].

20 M^r Jos. Lynde sailed in his Ketch for Salturtootha.

19 Cap^t James Thomas Sailed for Barbadoes.

21 In y^e Evening, about 6 of y^e Clock, a fiery meteor blazed w^h a great light, sending from it 7 or 8 distinct balls of fire, shooting from y^e West tow^d y^e S. E. as Cap^t Benj^t Gillam & Cap^t Eldridge have affirmed who diligently observed it & say y^e light continued about 2 minutes M^r Sheafe is my Authour, who told me he rec^d this acco^t:

from y^e abovenamed persons; it was also Visible to all y^e were out of their Houses in y^e open Aire.

22 Acco^t of y^e death of M^r Jn^s Russell of Hadley, who Sickned & dyed in or about one houres time; he was Minister of y^e Towne. y^e day of his death was on the day of this instant December.

March 12 Cap^t Gilbert Bant arrived from London.

19 Cap^t Jose arrived from London.

1693

April 22 Cap^t Emms in Ship S^t Jacob arrived wth Salt from Xuma [Exuma]. Nath. Green arrived from Barbadoes.

18 Indians are supposed this day to have murdered a man & 2 children & to have Carried away a Woman & a boy at Lampereele river, y^e dead being found, & y^e others missing, but none of y^e House left to give any acco^t:

May 8 Five persons, men, Women & Children murdered by Indians at York near pascatq.

10 My wife returned from Wenham, whether I carried her Apr. 28th

12 M^r W^m Thwing arrived from Montserat.

14 M^r Stretton arrived from Montserat.

17 Edw^d Loyd in Ship prosperous arrived from Nevis.

Five hh^{ds} sugar 4 B^r parsons, one W^m Gerish's landed out of Stretton into M^r Cooper's Warehouse.

Six Tierces sugar B^r Parsons out of Thwing landed & put into M^r Lillies Warehouse.

23 M^r Hall & M^r Rankin came in from Xuma.

I weighed to M^r Tho. Cooper 4 hh^{ds} B^r parson's & one hh W^m Gerrish's Sugar.

24 M^r Rich^d Foster came in from Salturtootha.

25 This morning betw. 12 & one, a fire broke out in Boston, in y^e Lane opposite to Halsey's Wharfe, it began in one Holt's House a Baker. & proceeded up^{ds} y^e lane, one House being blown up below & Giles Fyfields house above stopt it (wth Gods blessing) so as to burn down only 3 houses, w^{ch} wth 2 blown up 5 in all Fire.

were destroyed, how this fire was first kindled, is not known; In blowing up one House David Edw^{ds} Arm was brok; & one Whiterige a stout Seaman so bruised y^e he is said this day to be near death, this was don by y^e fall of timbers upon them.

June 11 Their Maj^{ties} Fleet consisting of about 17 Saile of Men of Warre & Tenders, under y^e Co^mand of S^t Fra: Wheeler General, arrived here from Martinico.

July 5 Commencem^t

6 A Fast at the old Church.

August 2 S^t Francis Wheeler & y^e fleet sailed hence.

1694

April 2 Major Jn^s Richards of Boston dyed suddenly, being in

health (to appearance) a moment before : being opened his Vitale appeared Very sound.

April 6 Maj: Richards was buried at y^e North burying place with the foot Regiment attending the funeral.

9 S: W^m Phips Sailed from Boston in a Brigantine bound to the Eastward.

22 Cap: Benj: Gillam Command: of Ship Prud: Sarah, arrived here from London.

30 Raine began, being Munday, Wind at E. & N. E. continued till Thursday foll. much Raine fell in y^e time Little or no Raine having fallen in a month before.

May 7 D: Daniel Allen, a true Lover of his Country & most Loyal to the Crown of England, Learned, Wise, Humble pious, most true to his friend, the approved, able and beloved physician &c. Sickned Saturday the 28th day of April in y^e night, and dyed this day being Munday, to the universall grieve of all good men who were acquainted with his worth.

8 Jn^s Tenny & M: Bishop sailed for Montserat Jaris for Nevis.

Jos. Arnald for Antigua. [The rest of this line is in cypher; and for a translation, see note, page 159, *ante*.]

9 D: Allen buried.

6 Cap: Horton in ship Tryal who came out in Company with Cap: Gillam arrived this day.

4 M: Brenton set out for Road-Iland, a privater one Cap: Too, arrived there April 28th with much treasure y^e Dep. Collect: Seized y^e Sloop, & gave notice of it to y^e Collect: w^{ch} occasioned his going thither.

May 10 M^r Jose went tow^d Pascataq, this day, her son Richard Lee sent to our House, there to stay till her return.

23 S: W^m Phipps arrived from pemiquid.

June 2 M^r Jose returned.

12 Eclips of the sun, a clear day.

Cap: Wing sent his Daughter to Warn me out of his house

19 Cap: Dagget saild for London.

22 Jn^s Phillips & his B: Sam. philips saild in a sloop for Bristoll.

Gen^l Court adjourned to y^e first Wedensday in 7ber.

16 My Daughter Abigail wife of James Whippo delivered of a Son at Barnstable about Noon, y^e next day baptized by y^e name of Laurence.

24 My Daughter Elizabeth wife of Tho. Pierson deliv'd of a Daughter, who was Baptized Elizabeth by M: Morton the first day of July foll. at Charlestown [A line in cypher; and for a translation, see note, page 159, *ante*.]

25 } Gen^l Training at Charlestown.
26 }

July 18 In y^e morning a little before day, The Indians fell upon &

destroyed y^e Village called Oyster river [Durham] in y^e province of New Hampshire, Killed above 50 persons, & many Carried away, & burnt most of y^e Houses.

2 or 3 dayes after a party came down within 2 miles of Strawberry bank [Portsmouth, N. H.], & Killd y^e Widow of M^r Jn^t Cutt & a Negro man, & wounded another negro;

20 S^t W^m Phips Sailed in y^e Galley to y^e Eastward.

27 The Indians Set upon Groton burnt 2 Houses, kild 22 persons found dead, 13 more missing, they were pursued by about 100 Horse but they returned without finding them.¹

Augth 2 S^t W^m Phips returned home from Pemaquid. Indians all gon from those parts. &c.

Wind at N. E. & E. cloudy & misty all night, foggy in the morning, wth soon turnd to raine; We had abundance of raine this day by many great showers wth thunder & Lightning, y^e raine continued more or less all night.

4 The sun shined a little this morning; but y^e clouds returned, & it rained very often in y^e day, at Evening y^e raine set in againe & continued all night with a very great Storm of Wind at N. E.

5 Sabbath day a clear, hot, sunshine day. This raine is Judged very seasonable for y^e grass & Indian Corn wth in many places was Languishing for want of Raine

This Evening Cap^t Fox's child was baptized (named John) by M^r Hatten at Cap^t Fox's House, Godfathers M^r Ja: La-blond & M^r Sherloe Godmother the Wife of M^r Tippet.

M^r Fox was delivered July 29th about 6 o clock in y^e morning being y^e last Sabbath.

7 Eben: Orton & Tho: Fowler this day signed Coven^t y^e s^d orton to build the s^d Fowler a Barque at Hingham, according to y^e Coven^t agreed on; I drew y^e Writings, & met the parties at y^e Exchange Tavern betw: one & two afternoon, y^e writings being signed, Sealed & deliv^d in y^e p'sence of M^r Sam. Shrimpton & myself Witnesses; the s^d Fowler paid Said Orton £20.0.0 in good p^s of eight wth s^d Orton rec^d of him in my presence. I left them at y^e s^d Tavern; towards night, y^e s^d Eben: Orton & his wife went on board a Sloop bound for Hingham, but having saild part of y^e way y^e wind not faire, they returned tow^{ds} Boston, & came near y^e shoar on y^e south side of the Town, & there y^e boom struck s^d Orton overboard, & he was there drowned. this was about nine at night; the next morning he was found, wth y^e money in his pocket.

¹ Judge Sewall, in his Diary (Mass. Hist. Coll. 5th series, vol. v. p. 891), says in regard to this assault: "Friday, July 27. Groton set upon by the Indians, 21 persons kill'd, 18 captivated, 3 badly wounded"; and the Reverend John Pike, in his Journal (Proceedings, vol. xiv. p. 128), has the following: "July 27. The enemy fell upon Groton ab^t day-break, killed 22 persons & Captivated 18."

August 8 Their Maj^{ties} Galley Called the Newport, and Cap^t Jn^o Foy arrived from England this day; they parted with another Friggot & two Masts ships bound for pascato, the 4th instant. Cap^t Packston Commands the Galley.

Cap^t Sewell & Maj^r Townsend departed hence for Newyork y^e 6th instant, to meet wth Colonel Pinchon who are here appointed to Joyn wth Colonel Fletcher in a treaty with the Maques [Mohawks] about a firm peace.

April 7th 1691.

Then Received of Laur. Hammond, by the order of Abigail Rogers of Billerica, One Deed of sale, of 12 Acres & $\frac{1}{2}$ of land lying in Charlestowne, from John Cutler sen^r of Charlestown, to William Rogers, sonn of William Rogers late of Charlestown dec^d under y^e hand & seal of y^e said John Cutler, bearing date y^e 20th day of June 1690. in presence of Nathaniel Dowse & Laur. Hammond, Witnesses. I say rec^d by me.

DANIL GOULD

1677 A memoriall of Mortality, being an Acco^t of the Death's of Persons in New-England, concerning wth some remarkable Circumstances attend the same, & Especially of such growne persons who have dyed in Charlestowne; begining wth y^e yeare 1677.

March 17 D^r Sam. Alcock, of Boston, after long languishing, Dyed.

May 14 M^r David Anderson, Commander of Ship Blessing, bound home from London, dyed neer this land, buried on shore at his funeral, 24 Guns fired from y^e ship & 12 frō y^e Towne

June 15 Francis Willoughby, youngest son of Fra. Willoughby Esq., coming from London in Cap^t Jenner, dyed at sea, wth y^e smallpox.

July 17 Two men kild by Lightning, one at Topsfield & another at Wenham.

July 18 Skipper How returned, after a wonderfull preservation at Sea, five persons dying on board & upon a desolate Iland upon w^{ch} he was cast, all perishing Except himselfe.

Aug 5 M^r Rich^d Sharp of Boston, who came in well from sea on y^e 2^d instant, dyed of a viol^t distemper, poyson suspected.

6 M^r Jn^o Lake of Boston, dyed, whose will M^r Sharp aforementioned wrot y^e 4th instant; but dyed before y^e Testato^r

27 Isaac Foul's Daughter about 4 yeares old, was Drowned in Josh. Edmund's well.

28 Tom my Negro-man, dyed wth the smallpox.

Sept^r 9 W^m Willoughby, dyed of the small-pox.

M^r Jos. Brown's Negro-woman, Rose, dyed of y^e small-pox.

18 Tho. Mousal's wife dyed of a feaver &c.

21 John Edmunds, dyed of a consumption.

22 John Candag's daughter dyed of y^e smallpox.

28 M^r Jn^o Anderson of Boston, Shipwright, dyed.

Oct. 8 Phebe Richardson, of Cap^t Hinchman's family, dyed of y^e small-pox.

10 Acco^t brought of the death of M^r Benj^t Gibbs, late of boston slaine by his own Indian in y^e bay of Campech.

11 M^r Rawson, the wife of M^r Edw. Rawson, after some time of sicknes, dyed.

15 The wife of Lieu^t Ted, after long sicknes, dyed.

17 The maid of M^r Tho. Graves in this Towne, dyed of y^e smallpox.

Nov. 6 Ensign W^m Fletcher of Chelmsford, dyed of Gripings.

12 Sarah Tredway, M^r Graves other maid, dyed of y^e smallpox.

16 John Tomlin of Boston, under discontent, Hanged Himselfe.

20 Goodm. Williams of Boston, an aged man, cut his owne throat & dyed.

M^r Mather this day informed me, that in Plimouth Colonie, about a month agoe, an English Woman, said to have had 19 children, & wth child of y^e 20th & two Indians, murdered themselves.

25 Jn^o Upham, a Sojourn^r at Jn^o Mousal's, dyed of ye Smallpox.

28 Jn^o Dowse of Charlestowne, dyed of y^e Smallpox.

Decemb. 9 W^m Johnson, an aged man of Charlestowne, dyed.

10 Tho. Larkin, dyed of y^e Small-pox.

Jn^b Dexter of Malden shot by Cap^t Sam. Hunting of Charlestown whereof he dyed, it was by accident done y^e last week.

12 A new borne child found in Boston-Dock, wth had been murdered.

16 W. Sheaf's wife, dyed of y^e Smallpox.

22 M^r Tho. Shepard, y^e Reverend & super-Eminent Teacher of this church, dyed of y^e small-pox.

29 John Poor's wife dyed of y^e smallpox.

The Mate of a Ketch, under saile in Boston Harbour, fell overboard & was drowned.

Janua: 1 Jn^o Burrage Junior, dyed of y^e small-pox.

2 W^m Brown Senior, his child, dyed of y^e smallpox.

7 Zech. Foule, dyed of the small-pox.

16 D^r Sam. Brackenbury of Boston, dyed of y^e smallpox.

17 M^r Norton, widow of M^r Jn^o Norton of Boston, dyed of an Appoplexy.

M^r Alex. Adams, of Boston, dyed y^e 15th instant.

18 Mary Keyes, Nath. Frothingham's maid, dyed of y^e small-pox.

22 M^r Howard, Maj. Willard's daughter & Nath. Howard's wife, dyed.

30 Mary, y^e widow of Zech. Foule, died of y^e small-pox.

Febr. 6 M^r Antho. Checkly's wife of Boston, dyed, being in trouble of mind refused to eat.

17 Jn^o Larkin, after 13 weekes illnes of y^e smallpox &c. dyed.

28 Deborah Long, daughter of Mich. Long, dyed of y^e smallpox.

March 8 Old Father Jones, near 90 yeares of age, dyed.

10 M^r Jos. Lynde's Indian dyed of y^e smallpox.

18 Jn^o Bacon's child dyed of y^e smallpox.

Old widow Cutler dyed wth Distempers of old age.

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March 20 Jn^o Bacon's wife dyed.

25 Hannah Kettle, daughter of Jos Kettle dyed of the smallpox.

April 4 Jn^o Lowden, who hath stood for some time Excommunicated, dyed.

5 M^r Josiah Allen, a Merch^t in Boston, being on board Cap^t Benj. Gillam's great ship, was shot to death by a fouling piece, accidentally firing in a boat, going off y^e ship side.

7 Jn^o Newel's child dyed of y^e smallpox.

Jn^o Bacon, dyed of y^e smallpox.

13 Nath. Rand's wife, dyed of y^e small pox.

18 Widow Barret's child dyed of y^e smallpox.

M^r Newman, Minister at Rehoboth, dyed since this month began.

26 Tho. Tarbal¹ dyed of y^e smallpox.

29 M^r Hayman's Negro man, dyed; He well on Saturday fore-noone, Drunk in y^e Afternoone, taken wth an Exceeding swelling in & about his Cods on y^e Sabbath, & dyed ys morn^g.

May 1 M^r Sam. Ballat's wife dyed of y^e small-pox.

Sarah Osburne dyed of y^e smallpox.

9 M^r Jos. Browne (lately removed hence to Boston) dyed, having been for some time ill.

13 M^r Jn^o Lake's widow dyed in Boston of y^e smallpox;

17 M^r Starre, formerly Gatlief of Boston, dyed of y^e small-pox.

23 W^m Goose, Junior dyed at Sea on board one Johnson, coming from London, the ship came in this day; he dyed of y^e smallpox.

28 Ezek. Hamblin's child, dyed of y^e smallpox.

30 Ezek. Hamblin's child (viz. another) dyed of y^e smallpox.

Sarah Sawyer, M^r Green's maid, dyed of y^e smallpox, or pestilentiall feaver, in a strange manner; it was on y^e 29th instant.

June 6 Sam. Carter Junior, dyed of y^e smallpox.

9 Ursula Cole, y^e wife of Jn^o Cole sen^r dyed of a feaver.

11 Old Goodm^{an} Tarbal,¹ & y^e wife of Jn^o Cole Jun^r & her child born yesterday, dyed of y^e small pox.

18 Newes of a Woman & two children murdered by Indians about New-London.

¹ Thomas Tarbell, Jr., a former resident of Groton, but who after the destruction of that town by the Indians on March 13, 1676, had removed to Charlestown. Thomas, the father, died seven weeks later, also at Charlestown, on June 11; and they both were original proprietors of Groton.

June 19 Three Indians of Natick kild by y^e Mohawkes, & divers captiv'd.

30 Cap^t Tho. Clerk, Ironmonger in Boston dyed.

July 4 M^r Timo. Symmes dyed of y^e small-pox.

15 M^r Marshal, wife of M^r W^m Marshal, dyed of y^e smallpox.

Aug. 6 Henry Swaine's wife dyed of y^e smallpox.

The following receipts are of interest, as showing the crude ideas that prevailed more than two centuries ago, here and elsewhere, in regard to medical therapeutics.

PHYSICAL RECEIPTS.

FOR COMFORTING THE HEAD & BRAINE.

Take Rosemary & Sage of both sorts of both, wth flowers of Rosemary if to be had, & Borage wth y^e flowers. Infuse in Muscadine or in good Canary 3 dayes, drink it often.

The fat of a Hedg-hog roasted drop it into the Eare, is an Excellent remedy against deafnes.

Also a Clove of Garlick, make holes in it, dip it in Honey, & put it into the Eare at night going to bed, first on one side, then on the other for 8 or 9 dayes together, keeping in y^e Eares black wooll.

AN EXCELLENT WATER FOR Y^e EYES.

Take Sage, Fennel, Vervain, Bettony, Eyebright, Celandine, Cinquefoyle, Herb of grass, pimpernel, Steep them in White wine one night, distill all together, & use the water to wash the Eyes.

The juice of Eyebright is Excellent for y^e sight.

ANOTHER.

Take good White wine, Infuse Eyebright in it 3 dayes, then Seeth it wth a little Rosemary in it, drink it often, it is most Excellent to restore & Strengthen the sight. Also Eate of the powder of Eyebright in a new layd Egge rare roasted every morning.

ANOTHER.

Take Fennel, Anniseed & Elicompaine, dry & powder them, mix it with good Nants-brandey, & dry it againe: Every morning & Evening eate a pretty quantity it is Excellent for y^e sight.

A MEDICINE TO RECOVER Y^e COLOUR & COMPLEXION WHEN LOST BY SICKNES.

Take two quarts of Rosewater red, take five pounds of clean White Wheat, put it into y^e Rosewater, Let it Lie till the Wheate hath soaked up all y^e Liquor, then take the Wheat & beat it in a mortar all to mash.

Nettle Seeds bruised & drank in White Wine is Excellent for the Gravel.

FOR HOARSNES.

Take 3 or 4 figs, cleave them in two, put in a pretty quantity of Ginger in powder, roast them & Eat them often.

FOR THE PALSEY.

Take a pint of good Mustard, dry it in y^e Oven till it be as thick as a pudding, then dry it over a Chafing dish of Coales till it may be beaten to powder mix wth it a handfull of powder of Bettony leaves, put som Sugar to it & Eat it every morning.

FOR THE MEGRUM.

Mugwort & Sage a handfull of each, Camomel & Gentian a good quantity, boyle it in Honey, & apply it behind & on both sides y^e Head very warm, & in 3 or 4 times it will take it quite away.

Mr. C. F. ADAMS then said : —

In submitting to the Society a lengthy and somewhat elaborate paper on a subject which has been frequently discussed here and elsewhere, I wish to say a few words in regard to the reasons which led to, and the circumstances which accompanied, its preparation. As some of the members of the Society know, I have for a number of years, as opportunity admitted, been engaged in a study of New England town and church government; and in the course of it I have been led into several investigations too detailed to form part of my main work, but necessary to support or explain the conclusions set forth in it. One of these collateral and subordinate studies, if I may so call them, I submitted to the Society in a paper read by me at the meeting in June last, and the present paper is another study of the same character.

I wish also to add that the conclusions set forth in this paper are wholly at variance with the conclusions I had previously reached in a preceding paper on the same subject prepared some months ago. In preparing that earlier paper I reached certain results drawn from the local records and other material I had before me, studied in the light thrown upon them by recent investigators in the same general field. How wholly at variance those results were with the conclusions I have since reached in the paper I have in my hand becomes apparent when I quote the following extract from the earlier and suppressed paper : —

"Such was the common-law English vestry, and its close resemblance both in function and method of procedure to the New England town-meeting is obvious. . . .

"Towards the close of the sixteenth century and during the early years of the seventeenth, the vestry underwent a singular fate; for while on the one hand, and in the Established Church, it was as a civic and political force systematically suppressed or made to perish from disuse,¹ on the other hand, among the non-conformist and Puritan elements it developed, until, ceasing any longer to be known as the vestry, it became the church itself, — or, as it was subsequently called, the congregational society. And it was in this transmuted form that the vestry came to Massachusetts, leaving its name behind, but bringing with it its forms and its officers, — its notices and its public meetings, its constables, its way-men and its tithing-men.²

"The Massachusetts congregational society, thus developed out of the vestry, under its new conditions and in process of time itself developed in the most obvious way into government by town-meeting. The society was a unit in itself, — at once a religious fold, a debating society, and a social club. Democratic to the last degree, it had, besides its articles of faith, its prudential machinery, its rules controlling the admission of members, and its forms of procedure. In other words, it was a theological commonwealth, from which, if not subjected to outside interference, the evolution in due time of a political republic might have been predicted with certainty. Such, then, was the line of development, or rather the course of evolution, — the vestry, the congregational society, the New England town-meeting; and this, as already pointed out, can be distinctly traced through the common nomenclature of officers, as well as through the records of the particular town."

Having completed this paper, I sent copies of it to our associates, Messrs. Goodell and Chamberlain, as I knew they had given much study to the subject, and I was anxious to have my conclusions subjected to their criticism. These copies were in due course of time returned to me by both gentlemen with long and friendly letters, for which, though they satisfied me completely that my theories would not bear examination, I felt greatly obliged. After reading their letters it was obvious to me that I had, by no means for the first time, fallen into the error of generalizing from insufficient data, and that whether Messrs. Goodell and Chamberlain were or were not

¹ May's Constitutional History, chap. xv.

² Channing's Town and County Government; Adams's Tithing-men and Norman Constables.

right in their own conclusions, it was necessary for me to go over the ground again in a wholly different way.

The method of investigation I then adopted is sufficiently set forth in the paper I now submit; and I make this preliminary statement merely to express the obligation in this matter I feel myself under to our two associates. The conclusions reached, such as they are, are my own; but, as will readily be seen, they are much more nearly in accord with those heretofore expressed by Messrs. Goodell and Chamberlain, and by them incorporated in the Proceedings of the Society,¹ than with the views of investigators of another school.

I will merely further add, that, following the precedent set by Mr. Deane, — a most excellent precedent it seems to me, set by one than whom no higher authority can be appealed to in this room, — following, I say, the precedent set by Mr. Charles Deane in his discussion with the late Professor Parker in 1869,² I have sent copies of the paper I am about to submit to Messrs. Chamberlain and Goodell, as well as to our librarian, Dr. Green, and to Professor Channing, — who also have given much attention to this subject, — and have asked those gentlemen to come here to-day and freely express their opinions both on the methods I have pursued and the results I have reached. What we want, of course, is a statement of historical conclusions which will stand criticism of the severest description. It is easy to invent theories and to advocate particular views of this or any other disputed problem; but the truth of the matter can only be reached after every conceivable theory has been advanced and subjected to the test of investigation.

I now submit the following paper on —

*The Genesis of the Massachusetts Town, and the Development of
Town-meeting Government.*

There has for some years been a noticeable tendency among antiquarians and students of history, to find in the usages and customs of New England town life traces and remnants of forgotten communal systems peculiar to earlier stages of civil and political development. By those composing one section

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 265-280, 320-331.

² Proceedings, 1869-1870, p. 188.

of this school, — a school the thought and conclusions of which are the indisputable result of deep research, — an ancient and honorable lineage has been devised for town institutions, — a lineage running back through Anglo-Saxon to Germanic sources, and the primitive tribal and communal arrangements described by Tacitus. The town has thus been derived by direct descent from the "tun," while the folk-mote is found to have been the origin of the town-meeting. A noticeable example of this treatment is that striking passage in his "History of the English People," where the late John Richard Green points out the geographical birthplace and very cradle of both town and folk-mote, on the shores of the North Sea and the Baltic; just as some explorer, acting as a guide, might point out to wondering tourists a tiny lakelet, the source of some mighty river.¹

The New England town-meeting was, and still is, the political expression of the town; and probably there is no single American institution which, since De Tocqueville made it famous half a century ago, has excited so much and such wide-spread interest and admiration. In dealing with it statesmen, philosophers, historians, and orators have seemed to vie in words of commendation. The town-meeting has, in fact, been the one feature in American polity which no one has as yet seen fit to criticise adversely. Naturally, therefore, what may be called the genesis of the town-meeting has proved a peculiarly interesting matter of investigation to those in America composing the school of students just referred to.²

My attention has recently been drawn to this subject in the course of a careful study of the records of an individual Massachusetts town, while preparing a volume now passing through the press. However it might be with other towns in New

¹ Green's *History of the English People*, vol. i. p. 13.

² See the following papers in the Johns Hopkins University Studies: Freeman's *Introduction to American Institutional History*; Herbert B. Adams's *The Germanic Origin of New England Towns*; Saxon *Tithing-Men in America*; Norman *Constables in America*; Channing's *Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America*; Andrews's *The River Towns of Connecticut*. Also, Johnston's *Connecticut*; Hosmer's *Samuel Adams*; and the papers of Messrs. Chamberlain and Goodell in *2 Proceedings*, vol. v. pp. 265-280, 320-331, on "The New Historical School and the Origin of Towns in Massachusetts."

England, I found absolutely nothing in the case of this town (Braintree) to support the theories referred to. While undoubtedly, as Mr. Freeman has observed in another connection, the institutions of every one of the older Massachusetts towns "are part of the general institutions of the English people, as those again are part of the general institutions of the Teutonic race, and those are again part of the general institutions of the whole Aryan family"; yet, while a general resemblance, however striking, is in itself no evidence of descent, it is easy to give altogether too great weight to similitudes and analogies. In approaching an investigation of this sort, therefore, it is well to bear in mind a remark of Sir Henry Maine in his first lecture on Village Communities, that it is "the characteristic error of the direct observer of unfamiliar social or juridical phenomena, to compare them too hastily with familiar phenomena apparently of the same kind"; and Sir Henry further adds that "the greatest caution must be observed in all speculations on the inferences derivable from parallel usages."

But while the Braintree records afforded no support to remote genetic theories, the examination of them soon made it apparent that, for reasons presently to be stated, Braintree was not one of the towns in the history of which the subject could be advantageously studied. It was equally clear that it could be studied only in the original records of some properly selected towns; for the indications all were that the advocates of remote descent had fallen into the not uncommon error of looking too far afield for that which was in fact close at hand. Accordingly, in order to secure a sufficiently wide basis for generalization, I examined the original records, church as well as town, of Hingham, Weymouth, Dorchester, Dedham, and Cambridge, as well as those of Boston. All of the towns named, organized prior to 1636, are among the original Massachusetts towns; and the evidence on the subject of the genesis of the town and town-meeting government, to be derived from their records, it is the object of this paper to set forth in detail.

The evidence thus obtained is to my mind conclusive, that both town and town-meeting government, as seen in New England, are sprung from a simple English germ, fructifying in New England soil; they are, in fact, autochthonous,—the

natural product of a foreign seed developing under new circumstances and conditions, religious, social, material and political, local and general. Indeed, so far from there being any evidence in the records of these towns that the Massachusetts town and town-meeting government were derived from ancient Saxon and Germanic sources, — the “tun” and the “folk-mote,” — it seems clear that the town was merely a convenient though somewhat vague designation of adjacent territory for proprietary, religious, political, and military purposes, while the town-meeting, as a form of municipal government, came into existence gradually during the first twenty years of the settlement, and through a process of evolution, or rather of reproduction, as simple as it was natural.

To show clearly the evidence on which these conclusions are reached, it will be necessary to quote freely from the original records of the towns I have named; and those of Dorchester will be taken first, for the reason that, besides being one of the oldest of the Massachusetts towns, its records, both church and town, are complete and peculiarly full and instructive, indeed it may fairly be questioned whether there is any Massachusetts town in the history of which the gradual development of New England town government can be more advantageously studied than in that of Dorchester.¹

On the first written page of the Dorchester records [5] those connected with the settlement are referred to as “the planters in Dorchester,” and on the succeeding page a certain agreement is recorded as having been made “by the whole consent and vote of the Plantation.” The settlement of Dorchester Neck, now South Boston, is reckoned from Sunday, June 1st, 1630; but the town records do not begin until 1633, and the following agreement is entered under date of the 8th of October of that year, as “made by the whole consent and vote of the plantation”: —

“Imprimus it is ordered that for the general good and well ordering of the affairs of the plantation there shall be every Monday before the Court by eight of the Clock in the morning, and presently upon the beating of the drum, a general meeting of the inhabitants of

¹ The first book of Dorchester Town Records, covering the period from 1632 to 1653, is printed with the Fourth Report (Document 9 — 1880) of the Boston Record Commissioners. The early church records were printed separately by the Society in 1891.

the plantation at the meeting house, there to settle (and set down) such orders as may tend to the general good as aforesaid; and every man to be bound thereby without gainsaying or resistance. It is also agreed that there shall be twelve men selected out of the Company that may, or the greatest part of them meet as aforesaid to determine as aforesaid, yet so as it is desired that the most of the plantation will keep the meeting constantly and all that are there although none of the twelve shall have a free voice as any of the twelve and that the greater vote both of the twelve and the other shall be of force and efficacy as aforesaid. And it is likewise ordered that all things concluded as aforesaid shall stand in force and be obeyed until the next monthly meeting and afterwards if it be not contradicted and otherwise ordered upon the said monthly meeting by the greatest part of those that are present as aforesaid."

Several things are noticeable in this order, and among others the use of the words "inhabitants of the plantation," — a form of expression frequently found in the records from which quotations will be made. The word "inhabitants" now has a popular and accepted sense, signifying all those living or dwelling in a given territory; in the seventeenth century it had a wholly different and well understood legal meaning much more limited in character, — in the language of Coke, "forasmuch as he manures lands by that he is resident"; in other words, the common law was well settled that a man was an "inhabitant" of a place, whether he had his house there or somewhere else, when he had land in occupation in that place and was interested in the management and well being thereof; and otherwise he was not an "inhabitant."¹

It is next to be observed that in the method of managing common business affairs provided in this order there is nothing suggestive of the vestry or the quarter session, or any other local governing board known in English political or constitutional history. It is the commercial enterprise which comes into prominence. The "planters" representing the ownership of the "plantation" meet and agree upon certain rules and a method of doing business; and in so doing they follow closely the system outlined in the charter of the colony. The planters, being in this case the body of inhabitants, are the General Court of the plantation, or town; and

¹ Toulmin Smith's *The Parish*, p. 478; Channing's *Town and County Government*, p. 12.

they in this General Court, subsequently called a town-meeting, choose certain of their number to act as a species of executive committee, exactly as the General Court of the colony elected the Board of Assistants. The planters occupied the position of the body of stockholders in a modern business corporation, while the "twelve men selected" were the board of directors.

Neither in all this was there anything novel or calculated to excite surprise. It was the usual method of business procedure then in vogue in such cases, and that in accordance with which the charter of the colony was itself framed; and the appointment of committees of a general body to give special attention to matters of common concern is not only an expedient which would naturally suggest itself, and indeed force its way into practice, but it has been referred to as "one of the most ancient as well as one of the most striking and practical of the characteristics of English institutions," and it might be added of civilized human institutions; for while Toulmin Smith uses the language just quoted in connection with the English vestry,¹ Sir Henry Maine, speaking of those parts of India in which the village-community is most perfect, and in which there are the clearest signs of an original proprietary equality, says that authority is there lodged in the Village Council, which is always viewed as a representative body, and not as a body possessing inherent authority.² The Village Council of the East, bearing a name, whatever its real number, which recalled its "ancient constitution of Five persons," was analogous to the selectmen of the New England town; and both were ordinary and obvious organizations which naturally evolved themselves out of the business needs of any community those composing which undertook to manage their own affairs.³

¹ The Parish, p. 227.

² Village Communities, Lecture IV.

³ The late Richard Frothingham is authority for the statement (Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, October, 1870, p. 83) that the following from the Charlestown records is the earliest entry ever made in any Massachusetts town-book indicating the formation of a board of selectmen:—

"An order made by the inhabitants of Charlestowne at a full meeting for the government of the Town by Selectmen.

"In consideration of the great trouble and chearg of the inhabitants of Charlestowne by reason of the frequent meeting of the townsmen in generall and that by reason of many men meeting things were not so easly brought into a joynt issue. It is therefore agreed

In the case of Dorchester the simple form of government provided through the vote of Oct. 8, 1633, seems to have sufficed until October, 1636, at which time took place the well-known secession and departure to Connecticut of a portion, if not a majority, of the Dorchester church.¹

by the sayde townesmen joyntly that these eleven men whose names are written on the other syde, (with the advice of Pastor and Teacher desired in any case of conscience,) shall entreat of all such business as shall concerne the Townsmen, the choice of officers excepted, and what they or the greater part of them shall conclude of the rest of the towne willingly to submit unto as their owne propper act, and these 11 to continue in this employment for one yeare next ensuing the date hereof being dated thus: 10th of February, 1634 (1635)."

¹ It has always been a question whether the church, as an organization, then moved to Windsor, and has since been established there, or whether the movement was of a portion of the church members acting individually. The subject is very fully discussed in the preliminary matter to the published volume of Dorchester Church Records. Meanwhile certain investigators belonging to what, for the lack of a better descriptive term, must be called the Connecticut historical school, have of late thought they detected deep political significance in this schism, — a popular dissatisfaction at the union of church-membership with political rights, — and a protest against undue magisterial authority. (Johnston's Connecticut, pp. 18, 21, 59, 61, 75; Walker's Thomas Hooker, pp. 88, 119, 120; Twichell's John Winthrop, pp. 114, 144; Andrews's The River Towns of Connecticut, Johns Hopkins University Studies, vol. vii. pp. 27, 28.) This theory, which seems to rest mainly on an unsupported statement of Hubbard, has been made the basis of as large an historical structure certainly as it can well bear. Unquestionably, at a later day Hooker was a pronounced advocate of a democratic form of government, while Winthrop felt no faith in it; yet there is nothing on the face of the records up to the time of the Connecticut schism of 1636 to warrant a belief that the movement out of Massachusetts was anything more than the natural swarming of a portion of the settlers from the original hive to a region which seemed, and actually was, more inviting. Under then existing circumstances their going was naturally objected to by the rest of the colony.

De Tocqueville says that in New England "the impulsion of political activity was given in the townships; and it may almost be said that each of them originally formed an independent nation. . . . It is important to remember that they have not been invested with privileges, but that they have, on the contrary, forfeited a portion of their independence to the State." (Democracy in America, ed. 1889, vol. i. p. 61; but see the criticisms of Mr. Goodell in 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 332.) So far as the Massachusetts system of towns is concerned, this proposition does not accord with well-established historical facts; and if the view taken in this paper of the connection between the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Massachusetts towns is correct, it explains in a perfectly natural way the fact, so enlarged upon by Professor Johnston, that, while the towns in Massachusetts developed out of the colony, in Connecticut the process was reversed, and the colony resulted from a confederation of the towns, in the way stated by De Tocqueville. The charter of 1629 was the germ in both cases; but in Connecticut the transplanted growths naturally reproduced the necessary larger organization which in process of transplantation had been left behind. To the outside observer the whole proceeding seems simple, and the results produced identical as well as natural; but in regard to them and their historical significance equally careful investigators have reached diametrically opposite

After the departure of those who moved to Connecticut, the residue of the planters left in Dorchester, with such newcomers as settled there, reorganized the church and continued the former system of political government. A vote or order was passed continuing the monthly meetings of those "chosen for the ordering of the affairs of the plantation," and further providing that eight of their number should constitute a quorum with power to "act and order anything in the Plantation according to the scope of former orders to that effect."

A few months later (Jan. 16, 1636), the following additional order was passed:—

"It is ordered that ten men shall be chosen to order all the affairs of the plantation on this manner. They shall continue a monthly meeting during their time that they are chosen, which shall be six months after election. At which meetings they shall consult of and act what may be for the good of the Plantation, and after they have made such acts, and that by the major part of as many of them as are present which should be seven at least, they shall upon the next Lecture Day after Lecture read them to the Company of free men who are to be warned at present to stay. And then all acts and conclusions as shall not be contradicted by the major part of the free men present, shall stand for orders and bind the plantation and every inhabitant thereof."

This was followed on the 18th of October, 1642, by another order in these words:—

"June 3, 1642, there were chosen seven men whose names are here under written: to order the affairs of the plantation and to have power according to the former order as was given to the seven men then being:

"October 18, 1642. Whereas it hath been observed divers times, in our general town meeting, that some confusion and disorder hath happened in the agitation of our public matters and plantation affairs, by reason that men have used their liberty to propound their matters to the plantation without any fore knowledge of the seven men, and their matters have been so followed that divers things have been spoken of and few matters have been issued by reason that new matters have been upstartd while a former hath been in hearing and so much time spent and little work done, and moreover the spirits of some men troubled and offended by reason that their matters could not be heard, it is therefore

conclusions. See Johnston's Connecticut, pp. 61, 75, 135; Andrews's The River Towns of Connecticut, pp. 29, 122; also the criticism of Mr. Chamberlain in 2 Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 269-278.

ordered by the seven men that all matters and questions which any man hath to be agitated and petitions to be answered by the plantation shall first be brought to the seven men or to some two or more of them, and by them considered and orderly presented to the plantation who shall follow the business, together with the plantation, without any interruption, by any matters inserted, to the conclusion and determination thereof."

This arrangement seems to have been in force three years, at the end of which time the records for the 24th of December, 1645, and for the 27th of January following, contain the following remarkable entries, nearly the whole of which I have transcribed in full, as they practically amount to a written constitution, or framework of town government, and are accordingly one of the earliest efforts in that direction. As such they are interesting in themselves, besides indicating clearly the way in which the New England town-meeting was then developing upon original lines, following no precedents set in the old country.

"December 24, 1645. We the present inhabitants of Dorchester, being provoked and excited hereunto by the godly and religious request of some among us that have laid to heart the disorders that too often fall out among us and not the least nor seldomest in our town meetings, and the slighting of the orders for the orderly carrying on of our prudential business and affairs in the town of Dorchester aforesaid as also being heartily sorry for and ashamed of the premises and desiring to manifest the same for the time to come and also according to the charge that lies upon us in many respects to provide for peace and the flourishing in our own times and in our children's, have thought good upon mature and deliberate consideration to compose these few lines Following as a platform or an abridgment of such orders which by the blessing of God both we and our select men from year to year will endeavor to walk in to the honour of God and Jesus Christ whose name we profess. Amen.

"First of all we do bind ourselves that upon the first second day of the tenth month yearly about 9 or 10 of the clock we will come together warning being given upon some lecture day (or other meeting before) which shall be the charge of the selectmen for the time being to see it done, for these uses following, viz: to elect seven or so many of our most grave moderate and prudent brethren as shall then be thought meet for the managing of the prudential affairs of the town for that year. 2. and also all other officers as may be useful for the carrying on of the town affairs, viz: Bailiff, supervisors, Raters, &c: and that

all our elections be by papers and nott propounded by their predecessors : 3. that day to be a day of liberty for orderly agitation for the Redressing of any grievance that may be discovered. 4. or for the adding or detracting to or from these Rules or anything concerning the whole Town Liberty and Power.

“Secondly, we do give [to the seven men] upon Confidence of their careful and prudential improvement Full power and liberty of ordering all our prudential affairs within the Town of Dorchester, with these limitations and cautions : First that they shall not meddle with the giving or disposing of any of the Town land without the consent and good will of the Town first obtained :

“2 neither shall they take upon them to alter any parcel of land from the present improvement without the consent of proprietors (or the proprietors shall do it themselves by the major vote being fairly proceeded in, in two or three peaceable agitations before the seven men.

“Nevertheless : we do give them all accustomed liberty concerning common Lands in Fence also our town lots that they shall have power to enjoin the several proprietors to make and Repair such Fence as is due unto them by proportion and upon default therein to charge such penalty upon them as they see meet. Item that they order the Ringing and yoking of Hogs : the keeping of our Cows in the pen stinting the Cow walk barring the woods in season and that they carefully provide for the safety of our Commons in the wood and Timber.

“Thirdly we do Require that the seven men shall faithfully and prudently oversee all the business of the Town or between party and party that are committed to them and carefully and peaceably issue them seasonably as also that they shall take care of all inferior officers that they discharge their places Faithfully and take accounts from them, and thereof to make faithful and punctual Record in their Town book ; that so satisfaction may be given in any Doubt upon Demand as also that all Delinquencies and mistakes in Rates taxed upon the Town by the general Court or otherwise may be Discovered and Condignly dealt with ; as also that the seven men for the time being do tenderly and prudently provide against all such abuses [which] hitherto have been grievous and justly offensive unto many.

“Fourthly we require that our seven men shall be careful to meet eight times in the year viz the second Monday of every month in the year except the second, fifth, sixth and eighth at some place which shall be certainly known unto all the Town and there to be Resident from nine o'clock in the fore noon unto three o'clock in the afternoon : that so all such as have any complaints or Requests to make or any information to give or anything whatsoever to do with them may Certainly find all or five of them at the least upon pain of 5s for the first default and

also [of] displacement if good account be not Rendered upon demand, and further that they readily receive all complaints, Requests or informations as shall be [presented] and speedily and seasonably apply themselves to their best prudence and ability to issue all such business in a fair peaceable and quiet manner, and thereof to make a fair and plain Record in the Town book that in case any prove Contentious and will not be satisfied there may be a Testimony for the Wronged party and we allow them 12d apiece for their dinners at the ordinary or elsewhere upon the Towne charge: also we do give them power to charge the Town with such sum or sums of money from time to time as they shall have need of for the prudent and orderly managing of such things as fall out in their times provided that one Rate be not above 20" and that they make faithful collection and also disbursement thereof to be Recorded before another Rate be made and we require that all their orders about Town business be reasonably drawn up in writing and published upon some meeting and also fixed upon some observable place that so the offenders may have no excuse or pretence.

"Sixthly for our seven mens encouragement we the freemen of Dorchester do agree that it shall not be Lawful for any of Dorchester whosoever to slight either the persons or orders of the seven men for the time being but that all their orders for prudential order shall stand Ratified from the liberty afore given and whosoever shall offend in the premises we will Require it of him as some beside such penalty as his offence shall deserve.

"Seventhly we the freemen of Dorchester do unto the premises assent and agree and heartily and Truly by the help of God will endeavor the inviolable observation of the same and for the confirmation of the premises according to our usual manner we have solemnly given our vote and also chosen and entreated our brother John Wiswall this 24th of the 10th month 1645 to Record the same to be a Rule for ourselves and successors except God shall put into our or their hearts some more profitable and prudent way and we do further profess that we intend no neglect or contempt of the general Court or the wholesome Laws from thence established.

"January 27th, 1645.

"An order for the ordering of our Town Meetings.

"Forasmuch as the intemperate Clashings in our Town meetings as also the unorderly departings of sundry before other brethren and Neighbors, and the undigested and impertinent motives by divers divulged have been not only grievous but Justly offensive unto divers as also great occasion of mispence of precious time and an hindrance that good orders and other business have not so succeeded as otherwise prob-

ably they might have done the premises being taken into Consideration it hath pleased the freemen and brethren of Dorchester to commend the Care of the Redress unto the seven men for the time being. These are therefore to declare unto all our loving Brethren and Neighbors of Dorchester that according to the care Commended unto us and by the authority conferred on us it is ordered first that Whensoever the seven men shall have occasion of the assemblage of the Town or freemen and thereof shall give due notice and Cognizance unto them. And we account this to be due notice viz : that if it be on a lecture day that so many as are present shall take it for notice or if it be by sending a special messenger from house to house that if notice be left at the house with wife or child above the age of twelve years the husband or father not being within or not at home if he come home before the day appointed and not repair to the seven men or some of them to give in his Excuse or appear upon the day of meeting so many as shall have such notice and Cognizance and attend not nor give in some valuable Excuse unto the seven men shall forfeit six pence for the first offence.

"Secondly when the Company is assembled as aforesaid it is ordered that all men shall attend unto what is propounded by the seven men and thereunto afford their best help as shall be required in due order avoiding all Janglings by two or three in several companies as also to speak unorderly or unseasonably which nevertheless is this to be construed that we intend not the least infringement of any brother or neighbor's liberty or any way to suppress the abilities of any nor to quench the smoking flax but that all in due time and order may Communicate and contribute such help as they may have opportunity to do : but only that Confusion may be avoided and business more orderly dispatched, for the ends before mentioned we the seven men have appointed one of us to be our moderator to propound and also to order our meetings : And that all the assembly shall address and direct their speech unto him and shall be attentive unto the business of the assembly.

"Thirdly that no motions be divulged or propounded but such as the seven men shall have seasonable knowledge of and they to propound the same which is thus to be understood that in case the seven men shall refuse to propound any man's motion the party shall after some Competent times of patience and forbearance have liberty to propound his own cause for hearing at some meeting provided all disturbance and confusion be avoided.

"Fourthly that no man shall depart the assembly without giving due notice unto the moderator and declaring such occasion as shall be approved by the seven men upon pain of twelve pence for the first offence."

In the case of Dorchester it is unnecessary to follow the inquiry further. The genesis of the town-meeting there can be



traced in the foregoing extracts from the town records, and is found to spring from the charter of the colony, and to follow in all respects its analogies. As a form of government it was developed step by step to meet the secular needs of the community as they made themselves felt. The plantation or town was a commercial company, the partners in which by degrees were developed into a political community.

The Dedham records, though less specific in detail than those of Dorchester, are equally complete and to the point.¹ The General Court made an order, on Sept. 3, 1635, "that there shall be a plantation settled, aboute two myles above the falls of Charles Ryver"; and on the 8th of September, 1636, it was "Ordered, that the plantation to bee settled above the falls of Charles Ryver . . . is to bee Deddam, to enjoy all that land on the southerly and easterly side of Charles Ryver not formerly graunted to any towne, or particular persons, and also to have five miles square on the other side of the ryver." The petition in compliance with which this order was made bore the signatures of twenty-two persons, who were termed proprietors; and these proprietors, before their petition was acted upon by the General Court, entered into an elaborate civil covenant. No church had then been gathered, and the association was in its nature purely commercial. The records are complete. At the first meeting of the proprietors, — the General Court of the town, — eighteen persons were present, all of whose names were recorded; and thereafter regular weekly meetings were held, of which a full and careful record was kept. From time to time the original proprietors admitted additional proprietors on prescribed conditions, until, on the 20th of February, 1637, forty-three persons were present at a meeting. Not until the 8th of November, 1638, more than two years after the civil incorporation, was a church gathered. The regular weekly meetings of proprietors continued to be held until the 17th of May, 1639, when a vote was passed in which it was recited among other things that, whereas it had been found that the proprietors, in holding these meetings, "have wasted much time to noe small damage and business thereby nothing furthered," it was

¹ The Dedham town records have not been printed. The records of the original church were printed under a vote of the town in 1888, being edited by Don Gleason Hill.

determined to make choice of seven men to manage the affairs of the plantation. Thereafter the meetings of the proprietors were strictly like the original meetings of the General Court of the colony, or like the meetings of the stockholders of an ordinary corporation of later times. The main business of the meeting was the election of a smaller board to have charge of town affairs, and to those composing that board the proprietors delegated full powers. Not until the second day of January, 1643, or four years afterwards, did the general meeting of proprietors transact any business other than the election of the persons to take charge of town affairs, who might properly be considered the executive committee of the proprietors. After January, 1643, the annual sessions of the proprietors became practically town-meetings in the proper and subsequent acceptance of the term.

It would thus appear that in Dedham the civil organization distinctly preceded the church organization, and was never subordinated to it, or in secular matters in any perceptible degree influenced by it. The line of development of the plantation or town was that marked out in the original charter of the colony. The proprietors were the General Court. The seven men chosen annually to have charge of town affairs constituted a board with functions similar to those of the early boards of magistrates of the colony, and, subsequently, with functions equivalent to those of both magistrates and deputies; but, in the case of Dedham, as the constituency was not too large to meet in one body, exactly that course was pursued which it was originally designed in the charter should be pursued in the case of the colony itself, but which the increase in the numbers of the freemen, and their scattered residence, made impossible, — that is the whole body of proprietors or inhabitants met periodically in an assembly, or general court, to dispose of the business of the corporation which was of common concernment. Under these circumstances, by a natural process for which no abstruse reasons need be sought, the legislative functions by degrees reverted to the body of the proprietors, or inhabitants, in their general meetings assembled, while the executive functions were concentrated in the hands of a committee, known as the board of selectmen. The evolution of the Dedham town-meeting, therefore, took place out of the peculiar conditions of the settlement, all the

action taken being in accordance with and subordination to the precedents established in the case of the colonial charter, — it was the general stockholders' meeting of a commercial association.

At the September session of the General Court of 1635 the following order was passed: "The name of Barecove is changed, and hereafter to be called Hingham." The Hingham church was gathered on the 18th of the same month.¹

Certain leaves at the beginning of the town records are lost, and the first volume is to a large extent filled with miscellaneous matters of record, relating to allotments, transfers of real estate, etc.,—it is in fact the book of registry of a body of proprietors referred to in it as "Freemen," "Townsmen," and "Inhabitants." The earliest entries are of the 18th of September, 1635, and relate to allotments,² varying from one to thirty acres in extent, made by "joynt consent of the freemen," or "by a joynt consent and general vote of the Freemen." The scope and meaning of the term "freemen" in this case is to a degree explained in the following vote or order, also of 18th September, 1635:—

"It is agreed upon that everie man that is admyted to be Townes man, and have lots graunted them shall beare charges both to Church and Commonwealth proportionate to their abilities, and in case that they sell their lots, they shall first tender them to the Towne, and in case that the Towne shall refuse to give what it shall be worth, or find a Chapman to bye it, then it shall be lawful for them to sell it always provided it be a honest man that shall be plassed into the sayd Lot or Lots."

At first all action was taken at meetings of the freemen, or proprietors, which meetings were held on notice, or "lawful warning"; and the penalty for non-attendance, or "for the not staying with the assembly, being there assembled," was "one

¹ The Hingham town records have been copied, but never printed; those of the earlier church were retained in the family of the first pastor, Peter Hobart, and never went into the possession of the parish. Subsequently they came into the hands of Hon. Solomon Lincoln, whose descendants gave access to them for the preparation of this paper.

² On the fly-leaf of the original church records is the following entry: "September 18th, 1735. We find upon the Town Records that this Day 100 years agoe the Town of Hingham was setled, their House Lotts drawn and that the Rev'd Mr. Peter Hobart was here and drew a Lott with the 29."

peck of Indian corne." This, the General Court form of government, seems to have sufficed and been continued until 1637, and the orders and regulations made were termed "Court orders." On the 23d of March, 1637, the following vote was passed by the assembly of freemen: —

"These nine men hereafter mentioned, being Freemen of the Town be chosen and deputed by the whole body of Freemen to agitate and determyne concerning any general business within the Town, except it be the making of any rate, unless they be newly chosen in a legal way, or receiving in of any person to be an inhabitant into the Town."

Votes of a similar character were passed subsequently, that of Jan. 8, 1648, further restricting the power of those thus chosen by adding the clause, "but these men are prohibited giving lands, making of rates, and stinting the commons."

In December, 1648, the term "general Town meeting" is used, and in January following the regular record of such meetings begins, and the term "selectmen" first appears. Jan. 1, 1652, "It is ordered . . . that the selectmen and Constables shall be chosen from year to year by papers." In the case of Hingham, also, the gradual development of the town-meeting, and town-meeting government through a board of selectmen, out of a body of proprietors, in strict accordance with the precedents established under the charter of the colony, is apparent and obvious. The court of proprietors was the body of stockholders in the enterprise or company; the selectmen were the board of directors, or executive committee. The church, and the church officials and members, as such, exercised no control over corporate business. Mr. Hobart's record contains no references to prudential affairs.

Weymouth ranks next to Plymouth in the order of settlement of Massachusetts towns. Originally Wessagusset or Wessagusset, it was made a town at the same time as Hingham (Sept. 3, 1635), when the General Court ordered that "the name of Wessagusset is also changed, and hereafter to be called Weymouth." ¹

The incorporation of Weymouth as a town was peculiar in that the previous settlement of Wessagusset, dating from Sep-

¹ The Weymouth town records have been copied, but never printed. The earlier church records have been lost. Nash's Sketch of Weymouth, p. 8.

tember, 1623,¹ was composed of what were known as "Old Planters,"² who, coming to New England with Capt. Robert Gorges, had established themselves without any color of legal right within the limits afterwards assigned in the charter of 1629 to the colony of Massachusetts Bay. They were therefore interlopers, possessed merely of what has since been vulgarly known as "squatter rights." The case of the Wessagusset settlers was unquestionably covered by the instructions to Endicott of April 17, 1629, guaranteeing "the old planters" incorporation into the colony, and full enjoyment of the land they had in occupancy.³ On the 8th of July, 1635, by the General Court, "there is leave graunted to 21 families to sitt down at Wessaguscus &c"; this was two months before the incorporation of the town. In 1635-36 bounds were established, and in 1636 the first allotment of lands of which there is any record remaining was made at a meeting of the freemen.⁴ Presumably the rights of the original settlers to the land held by them in occupancy were then recognized, as John Bursley, one of the original Gorges settlers, was a depu-ty from the town in the General Court of 1636.

The formal record of Weymouth does not begin until "December, 1641, although there are a very few items, evidently of an earlier date, which are undoubtedly transcribed from other sources by a later hand, and a mass of property records which are undated, but which, from external and internal evidence, should appear a year or two later."

Unlike Dedham, therefore, Weymouth was not settled as a plantation by a definite body of proprietors, nor did the town organize itself as a business company. On the matter of organization the Weymouth records of the earlier years are vague. In 1643 reference is made in them to "the townsmen," six in all and evidently the men chosen, as in Hingham, to order the town's affairs; and during the same year certain regulations relating to the "right of common" and "common pasture" were made "by the generall consent of the Towne."

The only light thrown on the Weymouth method of procedure during the first eleven years of corporate life is

¹ *Supra*, p. 25.

² *Proceedings*, vol. xvi. pp. 194-206; *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. I. chap. 3; *Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, pp. 144-149.

³ *Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, p. 145.

⁴ *Nash's Sketch of Weymouth*, pp. 26, 280.

contained in the following vote prepared by the townsmen, or selectmen, under date of April 6, 1646, and subsequently approved, and ordered to "stand good" by "the whole Towne":—

"Whereas we find by sad experience the great inconvenience that many times it comes to pass by the permitting of strangers to come into the plantation pretending only to sojourn for a season, but afterwards they have continued awhile account themselves inhabitants with us, and so challeng to themselves all such priveledges and immunitys as others doe enjoy who notwithstanding are of little use to advance the public good, but rather, many times are troublesome and prove a burden to the plantation, the premises considered, together with the straightness of the place, the number of the people, and the smallness of the trade we yet have amongst us, we the townsmen whose names are subscribed, for the prevention of this and the like inconveniences, have thought good to present to consideration the insuing order to be voted by the whole Towne to stand in force as long as they in wisdom shall see just cause.

"First that no inhabitant within this plantation shall presume to take into his house as an inmate, or servant, any person or persons, unless he shall give sufficient bonds, to defray the plantation of what damage may ensue thereupon, or be as covenant servant, and that for one year at the least without leave first had or obtayned from the whole Towne at some of their public meetings, under the penalty of 5 shillings a week as long as hee shall continue in the breach of this order, to be levied by the constable or other officer, and delivered to the townsmen for the time beeing, to be improved for the use and benefit of the town. Also it is further agreed upon by and with the consent of the whole town, that no person or persons within this plantation shall lett or sell any house, or land, to any person or persons that is not an inhabitant amongst us, untill he hath first made a tender of it to the Towne, at a trayning or some lecture day or other public meeting."

It will be observed that the town is here spoken of as "the plantation," and jealous reference is made to the "priveledges and immunitys" of the "inhabitants," who were in the custom of transacting business of general concernment "at a trayning or some lecture day or other public meeting."

On the 26th of November, 1651, at "a meeting of the Towne," eight "Townsmen" were chosen, and "invested with power for the carrying on of the Towns affayers for the ensuing year"; and at the same time the following votes defining the powers and duties of the "selectmen" were passed

and afterwards continued in force by reference for over thirty years : —

“The power that the Towne of Weymouth committeth into the hands of the Selectmen for this present year insuing 1651. First — Wee give them power to make such orders as may be for the preservation of our intrests in lands, and corne, and Grane, and Wood, and Timber, that none may be transported out of the Towns Commons.

Secondly — They shall have power to see that all orders made by the General Court shalbe observed, and also all such orders that are or shalbe made which the Towne shall not repeale at their meetinge in the first month.

Thirdly — It shalbe lawfull for them to take course that dry cattle be hearded in the woods except calves and Yearlings and that they provide Bulls both for the Cowes and dry Cattle.

Fourthly — They may issue out all such Rates as the Towns occasions shall require and see that they be gathered, that a due account may be given of them.

Fifthly — They may satisfy all graunts provided they satisfy them in due order, and not within two miles of the Meeting-house.

Sixthly — Wee willingly grant they shall have their Dynners uppon the Towns charge when they meete about the Towns affayres.

Voted by the whole Towne 26th of 9th mo'th [November] 1651.”

One other entry only from the Weymouth records seems to have any bearing on the matter now under consideration ; but this entry brings out clearly the distinction observed between the church and town organizations, — the selectmen and the deacons.

“The 24th of the 10th mo'th [Dec.] 1657.

“At a meeting of the 20 men who were desired and impowered by the Towne to take care about Mr. Thacher's mayntenance that it may be payde both in time and kind according to our engagement, it was ordered by them that Mr. Thacher's Rates should be made by the Selectmen from time to time by the first of the first month and the first of the second month yearly and that the sayd Selectmen shall see that it be payd in either to Mr. Thacher or the Deacons by the 12th of the 2d month and the 12th of the 8th month and in case any shall neglect or refuse to doe his duty herein to put forth their power to recover the same according to laws here established.”

Newtowne was ordered to be called Cambridge on the 2d of May, 1638, but there is no record of the first official recognition of Newe Towne as a distinct municipality. It was

selected as "a fit place for a fortified town" in December, 1630.

The Cambridge records¹ begin with an entry in relation to the enclosure, or paling, of certain lands, under date of March 29, 1632. Those concerned in the original settlement are not described as "planters" nor the town as a "plantation," but as "the inhabitants of the New Town"; and among the inhabitants were included all who owned "house and land in the town." In 1664 a memorial was addressed to the General Court signed by nearly all "the inhabitants and householders of the towne" to which the names of a number of others were appended "being of the traine band and singell men in the above sayd town."

The space included within the original paling was divided among forty-two persons, and it was further agreed "that if any man shall desire to sell his part of impaled ground, he shall first tender the sale thereof to the town inhabitants interested, who shall either give him the charge he hath been at, or else to have liberty to sell it to whom he can." The house lots were laid out compactly, and land for cultivation was assigned within the pale and afterwards elsewhere; the grazing lands were not divided, but the herds of cattle were daily driven out to range the common lands, and the "cow-common" remained undivided until a comparatively late period.

The affairs and business of the town were at first managed through regular monthly meetings of the inhabitants held "every first Monday in every month, within the meeting house, in the afternoon, within half an hour after the ringing of the bell"; but in January, 1635, power was delegated to a few individuals, at first styled "Townsmen," to transact "the whole business of the town," and on the 3d of the next month the number of townsmen was definitely fixed at seven.

The following regulation made the year ensuing (1635) is significant:—

"Dec. 5, 1636. Ordered, That no man inhabiting or not inhabiting within the bounds of the town shall let or sell any house or land unto any, without the consent of the Townsmen then in place, unless it be

¹ The records neither of the town nor of the original church of Cambridge have ever been printed.

to a member of the congregation; and lest any one shall sustain loss thereby, they shall come and proffer the same unto them, upon a day of the monthly meeting, and at such a rate as he shall not sell or let for a lesser price unto any than he offereth unto them, and to leave the same in their hands, in liking, until the next meeting day in the next month, when, if they shall not take it, paying the price within some convenient time, or provide him a chapman, he shall then be free to sell or let the same unto any other, provided the Townsmen think them fit to be received in.

"Ordered, That whosoever entertains any stranger into the town, if the congregation desire it, he shall set the town free of them again within one month after warning given them, or else he shall pay 19s. 8d. unto the townsmen as a fine for his default, and as much for every month they shall there remain."

It was ordered by the Court of Assistants on the 7th of September, 1630, "that Trimountaine shalbe called Boston"; but the Boston town records do not begin until four years later, the first entry in them being of Sept. 1, 1634. Owing probably to the circumstances under which it was settled and the large number of original inhabitants, Boston seems from the first to have developed on political rather than on corporate or commercial lines. The descriptive words "plantation" and "planters" are not used in its records; but in place of them the words used are "the towne" and "the inhabitants of the towne." In the form of government the analogy of the charter seems to have been followed, — a board of ten men, to whom was entrusted the whole management of town affairs, being chosen "at a general meeting upon public notice." The general meetings were composed of those to whom allotments were originally or afterwards made, and such as were formally admitted to be inhabitants; for as early as Nov. 30, 1635, it was agreed at a general meeting "that no further allotments shalbe graunted unto any new comers, but such as may be likely to be received members of the congregation," and "that none shall sell their houses or allotments to any new comers, but with the consent and allowance of those that are appointed AllotTERS." This vote was in the nature of instructions binding on "the 10 to manage the affaires of the towne," who again in 1640 declared it "not proper to allowe a man an Inhabitant Without habitation" (p. 51), meaning thereby "an house, or land to sett an house upon." In 1646

it was further voted "at a Generall townes meeting upon lawfull warning of all the freemen" that "all the Inhabitants shall have equall Right of Commonage in the towne; those who are admitted by the townsmen to be inhabitants"; those admitted to be inhabitants after the passing of this vote were to have no rights of commonage except by hire, and those entitled to commonage were forbidden to sell their rights. Through these and the subsequent years new-comers were continually admitted by the townsmen, or selectmen, to be inhabitants or, later on, townsmen; but frequent orders were passed forbidding those inhabiting the town from entertaining strangers "from any other towne or Countrie as a sojourner or inmate with an intent to reside here," and these orders were more or less enforced.

The general town-meetings of the freemen or of "all the Inhabitants" were held on public notice or warning from house to house; and until the year 1649 these meetings confined themselves as a rule to the election of an executive committee first referred to as "select Townsmen," in July, 1648, and as "the selectmen" in the following August; and this committee or board had conferred upon it full power in all town business "excepting matters of Election for the Generall Corte." In 1649 the town-meetings assumed legislative functions, and two years later, on the 14th of January, 1653, the records of Boston town-meetings in the eighteenth-century meaning of the term definitely began.

In the case of Boston, therefore, doubtless under the guidance of Winthrop, the town government was developed, or more correctly, — as was Winthrop's well-known wont,¹ — developed itself under the influence of circumstances, in exact accordance with the government of the colony. The town-meeting was the general court of the inhabitants of the town, who here as in the other towns and plantations were analogous to the stockholders of a corporation, and as such exercised a jealous supervision over intruders and those seeking to participate in the

¹ "Such laws would be fittest for us which would arise *pro re nata* upon occasions, &c." To enact a code of laws "would professedly transgress the limits of our charter, . . . but to raise up laws by practice and custom had been no transgression." The gradual process through which Massachusetts' political institutions, including town government, developed from the charter germs amid surrounding conditions, is perfectly described in the foregoing language from Winthrop's History (vol. II. p. 323).

common rights. This general court, or meeting, chose a committee to attend to the business affairs of the town, who in time became its executive officers or magistrates, under the title of selectmen.

None the less it is obvious that in the case of Boston, owing to the large number of those from the beginning inhabiting there, the analogy of the charter was followed so closely that the original body, delegated "to manage the affaires of the towne," was clearly designed to hold a position corresponding to the charter court of assistants, being in size one half of that body. It was in fact intended to be a city council; but, most fortunately, the course of events and the natural development of other towns forced Boston into line, and the town-meeting and board of selectmen were in due time evolved there as well as elsewhere. Representative city government, as a political experiment in Massachusetts, was thus deferred for one hundred and seventy years.

The following conclusions may safely be drawn from the original records above referred to:—

1st. The Massachusetts town government was of purely secular origin, and had no connection with the church organization, except that certain members of the church were freemen and inhabitants of the town, and the town was under legal obligations to maintain the church.

2d. The basis of the town organization was the joint interest of individuals, commonly termed freemen or inhabitants, but sometimes planters, in a tract of land referred to indifferently as a town and as a plantation; and these inhabitants were in the nature of stockholders in a modern corporation. As such they exercised a jealous oversight over the admission into the enterprise of new inhabitants, proprietors or stockholders.

3d. In the original establishment of the town governments and their progressive development to meet the increasing requirements of a growing community the analogy of the charter was closely followed. The body of freemen or inhabitants constituted the General Court of the town, subsequently called the general town-meeting; and the townsmen, later on the selectmen, were the board of assistants, or, as they would now be called, directors.

4th. As development went on and increased differentiation took place, the original legal lines were strictly followed. The

secular and the religious organizations separated more and more as new functions were from time to time imposed on the former; while the latter had already, at the very beginning, attained complete development.

In other words, so far as government was concerned, the first immigrants brought over with them, together with their language and their political and social habits and traditions, the church and the charter of 1629. In the church the religious organization and spiritual government can be studied; but to understand the political and legal development it is necessary to consult the charter. Time spent in going behind that and delving into parallel or analogous usages and forms, whether contemporaneous or primitive, cannot be said to be wasted, for all faithful study of that character is of value; but the results reached by means of it will incur great danger of proving fallacious unless the investigation is carried on with the charter and its provisions constantly in mind.¹

What then was King Charles's charter of 1629? Treated and developed almost from the first by those to whom it was granted as a frame of political government, it has left its impress deep on Massachusetts and American polity; but, in point of fact and legal acceptance, it merely brought into being an English commercial organization, — in other and modern words, it was a seventeenth-century act of incorporation, and, as such, in no respect peculiar. It was an incorporation of a similar character to that of the East India Company which preceded it in 1600, and to those of the Hudson Bay and Bank of England companies which followed it in 1670 and 1694. It was a trading company in which provision was made for the establishment and, incidentally, for the government, of a plantation in an uninhabited land; and this trading enterprise, involving a real estate speculation, resulted in a Commonwealth.² Twenty-six original corporators were

¹ On this point see the language, similar to that in the text, of Mr. Goodell in 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 323.

² The best and, upon the whole, the most comprehensive statement of what the founders of Massachusetts originally proposed and what subsequently, as occasion developed, they actually did, is, perhaps, that contained in Lowell's paper entitled "New England Two Centuries ago." (Among my Books, pp. 228-290.) In this paper he says, speaking of Winthrop and the charter associates: "And they were business men, men of facts and figures no less than of religious earnestness. The sum of two hundred thousand pounds had been invested in their undertaking, — a sum for that time truly enormous, as the result of private combination for

specified by name, and they were empowered to elect or admit others without limit into their number as freemen, or, in modern language, stockholders in the company; and careful provision, as was customary in such cases, was made for the management of the company's affairs through the election of a governor, as the chief executive of the seventeenth-century commercial company was designated, and a board of assistants, as the directors were called, by the body of the freemen of the corporation assembled at stated times in stockholders' meeting, termed their "Great and General Court." As respects power to make laws, ordinances, etc., for the government of the proposed plantation, the provisions of the charter were those usually allowed to corporations in England.¹

a doubtful experiment. That their enterprise might succeed, they must show a balance on the right side of the counting-house ledger." Then, referring to the unanticipated outcome of this commercial undertaking in the founding of a democratic political community, he adds: "Sober, earnest, and thoughtful men, it was no Utopia, no New Atlantis, no realization of a splendid dream, which they had at heart, but the establishment of the divine principle of Authority on the common interest and common consent; the making, by a contribution from the free-will of all, a power which should curb and guide the free-will of each for the general good."

¹ The similarity of this to other business charters granted by the English crown in the seventeenth century is seen in the terms and phrases common to them all; and the precise language used by Mill (History of British India, vol. i. p. 24) in speaking of the first charter of the East India Company, which passed the seals Dec. 31, 1600, might be used *mutatis mutandis* of the Massachusetts Bay charter: "This charter—the origin of a power so anomalous and important as that which was afterwards accumulated in the hands of the East India Company—contained nothing which remarkably distinguished it from the other charters of incorporation, so commonly in that age bestowed upon trading associations. It constituted the adventurers a body politic and corporate by the name of 'the Governor and Company of Merchants of London, trading to the East Indies,' and vested them with the usual privileges and powers."

In the case of the Bank of England (1694) "the management and government of the corporation [is] committed to the governor and twenty-four directors . . . thirteen or more of the said governors and directors (of which the governor or deputy-governor must be always one) shall constitute a court of directors, for the management of the affairs of the company . . . four general courts shall be held in every year. . . . The majority of electors in general courts have the power to make and constitute by-laws and ordinances for the government of the corporation, provided that such by-laws and ordinances be not repugnant to the laws of the Kingdom."

So also in the charter of the Hudson's Bay Company, granted in 1670, Prince Rupert and some seventeen others were created a body corporate under the name of "The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." Those thus named were empowered to elect seven of their number to be "called the Committee of the said Company." The governor and

This act of commercial incorporation was almost immediately converted into something very like a civil constitution; and under its provisions, always most liberally construed and not infrequently ignored, colonial Massachusetts developed. But the one point to be emphasized here is the machinery of government provided in the charter, and through it established in Massachusetts. That machinery was in its character neither religious nor political, — it did not originate in either the church or the congregation on the one side, or the feudal system of state on the other; it brought with it the traditions and usages of neither. The corporation was purely a commercial partnership, and its business organization was in strict accordance with its objects; that organization consisted of a body of stockholders, called freemen, who met periodically in stockholders' meeting, or general court, and elected a governor and a board of directors, designated as assistants. Nothing could be more simple or more familiar. There seems no room for historical disquisition.

The charter was then brought to America; but even before it reached America there is reason to suppose that a general assembly of planters or proprietors summoned by formal notice — the first Massachusetts town-meeting — had been held at Salem, and held also under the provisions of the charter. There is no regular record of this meeting; but in his "New English Canaan" Thomas Morton says: —

"This man [Governor Endicott] thinking none so worthy as himselfe, took upon him infinitely: and made warrants in his owne name, (without relation to his Majesties authority in that place,) and summoned a generall apparance at the worshipful town of Salem: there in company "at any public assembly, commonly called the Court General," might elect a deputy, etc., make laws, ordinances, etc., for the good government of their territory; impose penalties and punishments, provided the same were reasonable, and not repugnant to the laws of England. Finally, "at any court held for the said company, the Governor or his Deputy being one," any such persons as were deemed fit could be admitted into the company. The provisions of this charter are almost identical with those of the Massachusetts Bay charter granted forty-one years earlier.

So long as the chief executive of Massachusetts bears the title of "Governor" and the legislature is known as the "General Court," the origin of the state in the English commercial company of the seventeenth century is stamped upon it, and calls for no discussion. The subject is fully treated by Charles Deane in a paper in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1869-1870, pp. 185-196, and by Mr. Brooks Adams in his "Emancipation of Massachusetts," pp. 9-22.

open assembly was tendered certain Articles, devised between him and their new Pastor Master Eager, (that had renounced his old calling to the Ministry received in England, by warrant of Gods word, and taken a new one there, by their fantastick way imposed, and conferred upon him with some speciall gifts had out of Phaos boxe.)

"To these Articles every Planter, old and new, must signe, or be expelled from any manner of abode within the Compas of the Land contained within that graunt then shewed: which was so large it would suffice for Elbow roome for more then were in all the Land by 700000, such an army might have planted them a Colony with [in] that circuit which hee challenged, and not contend for roome for their Cattell. But for all that, hee that should refuse to subscribe, must pack.

"The tenor of the Articles were these: That in all causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Politicall, wee should follow the rule of Gods word.

"This made a shew of a good intent, and all the assembly, (onely mine Host replied,) did subscribe: hee would not, unlesse they would ad this Caution: So as nothing be done contrary or repugnant to the Lawes of the Kingdome of England. These words hee knew, by former experience, were necessary, and without these the same would prove a very mousetrapp to catch some body by his owne consent, (which the rest nothing suspected,) for the construction of the words would be made by them of the Separation to serve their owne turnes: and if any man should, in such a case, be accused of a crime, (though in it selfe it were petty,) they might set it on the tenter hookes of their imaginary gifts, and stretch it to make it seeme cappitall; which was the reason why mine Host refused to subscribe.

"It was then agreed upon that there should be one generall trade used within that Patent, (as hee said,) and a generall stock: and every man to put in a parte: and every man, for his person, to have shares alike: and for their stock, according to the ratable proportion was put in: and this to continue for 12. moneths, and them to call an accompt."¹

The old planters referred to in the above extract were the original settlers, supposed to be some thirty or forty in number, scattered along the shore of Massachusetts Bay from Cape Ann to Nantasket; and in dealing with these men, who looked upon the Massachusetts Bay Company with great jealousy, and were disposed to feel aggrieved at its action, the commercial side of the enterprise came to the front.² So, also, at the first Great and General Court, held in England on the 13th of May, 1629, and at all the meetings of assistants, the order of

¹ New English Canaan, book iii. chap. xxi.

² Craddock to Endicott: Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay*, pp. 146, 148-150.

proceedings and the measures taken were purely those of the stockholders and board of directors of a commercial enterprise. The officers of the company were elected, and provision made for the "allotment of land to these persons as are adventurers in the common stock"; regulations of trade were devised, and prospective profits divided among those concerned,—adventurers or stockholders, and planters.

Thus, throughout, the company was commercial, and its machinery of government was that of an ordinary business corporation. It is unnecessary to recapitulate further the accepted and familiar facts of Massachusetts history;¹ but, coming now to the organization of the Massachusetts towns and the gradual development of town-government, it is clear, from the original records cited in this paper, that when the process of growth and differentiation began the usual natural law asserted itself, and the progeny followed the species of the parent.² The colony was in its charter termed a "plantation"; and now the towns were subordinate plantations, and so called.³ Those who settled in the localities created into ~~towns~~ or townships were the planters, the proprietors, and the inhabitants. In other words, they were the beneficiaries or stockholders in an incorporated business enterprise; and they acted always in strict accordance with this legal position.

¹ The successive legislative steps through which the town system was developed in both the Plymouth and the Massachusetts Bay colonies are set forth in detail in Professor's Parker's paper entitled "The Origin, Organization, and Influence of the Towns of New England," in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for January, 1866. In this paper Professor Parker touches only incidentally (pp. 19-20) on the genetic sources of the town organization, reaching the conclusion that "a careful examination . . . will show that [the towns] were not founded or modelled on precedent."

² "The town was not the primordial cell which developed into a State, but the State was the mother of her towns. Development is along the lines of original constitutions, and seldom or never passes over into a different genus." (Mellen Chamberlain in 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 276.)

³ Referring to the earliest years of the settlement, Chief Justice Shaw says (Comm. v. Roxbury, 9 Gray, 485): "The terms 'plantation,' 'town,' and 'township' seem to be used almost indiscriminately to indicate a cluster or body of persons inhabiting near each other; and when they became designated by name, certain powers were conferred upon them by general order and laws, such as to manage their own prudential concerns, to elect deputies and the like, which in effect made them municipal corporations; and no formal acts of incorporation were granted until long afterwards,"—not until 1785 (Ibid. 511). On this subject see also Professor Parker's paper in the Proceedings for January, 1866, pp. 17, 18.

The course pursued appears in every record; and, in essentials, it is always the same. There is a recognized body of settlers, and to the individuals composing that body allotments are made; those receiving the allotments are the inhabitants, and either the inhabitants or the freemen, as a body, made up the court, or town-meeting; and the court, or town-meeting, either governed itself, as in the case of Dorchester, Dedham, and Cambridge during the earliest period, or delegated its powers to a board of assistants, or townsmen, as in the case of Boston. Invariably the inhabitants, or stockholders, evinced the utmost jealousy as to the admission of new inhabitants to share their corporate privileges, placing rigid restrictions upon it.¹

As the process of development went on, new political functions were imposed on the towns, just as from the beginning they had forced themselves on the organization of the original colony.² As those functions were imposed, corresponding offi-

¹ The regulations and orders restricting the coming in of new inhabitants, found in the early records of almost all the Massachusetts towns during the colonial period (1630-91), open a wide field of historical investigation. While in this particular case they can be referred to the corporate, or stockholder, interest at the basis of the organization, restrictions of a similar character can be traced through the earlier English history; and Bishop Stubbs says (*History of England*, chap. iii. § 24), speaking of the assembly under the Germanic mark system, "without its consent no man may settle in the territory, build himself a house, or purchase the share of another"; and under the provisions of the Salian law, "no settler is allowed to take up his dwelling in the vill, without the express permission of the community" (*Ibid.* § 25).

The desire for the exclusive possession of good things is not peculiar to man; and the origin of these restrictions would probably have to be looked for, not in the records of early human institutions, but in the animal instincts. In this connection Herbert Spencer says (*Principles of Sociology*, § 292): "It is true that the idea of tribal ownership of territory may be compared to that of many animals, which drive trespassers away from their lairs or habitats; even the swans on each reach of the Thames resist invading swans from other reaches, and the public dogs in each quarter of Constantinople attack dogs from other quarters if they encroach. . . . Indeed, the very idea of prospective advantage which leads an intelligent being to take possession of or to make any useful thing, is an idea which leads him to resist the abstraction of it."

Restrictions imposed by any given community on the coming in of new inhabitants are, therefore, merely a manifestation of an inherent instinct, and traces of it would be found in all human codes from that of China to that of Massachusetts.

² It is unnecessary for the purposes of this paper to quote, or even to refer in detail to, the series of acts of the General Court conferring and regulating town bounds and powers. See the paper of Professor Parker already referred to (*supra*, p. 201, note 1), and the elaborate note by the reporter, Horace Gray, to the case of *Commonwealth v. Roxbury* (9 Gray, 460).

cial positions were created, — constables, selectmen, tithing-men, way-wardens, etc. Naturally, men like Winthrop and the others who guided legislation bestowed on many of the classes of officials thus created the designations or titles familiar in English experience, as belonging to those who had similar duties to perform in England. This similarity has since suggested derivation; and accordingly the origin of the Massachusetts town has been traced to the English vestry.¹

Thus in early Massachusetts there were three distinct classes, the political and legal standing and relations of which have been, and still are, more or less confounded. These three classes were (1) the freemen of the colony, (2) the members of the ecclesiastical organization, and (3) the inhabitants of the towns. The freemen of the colony were the body of electors, — those entitled under the terms of the charter, and the colonial laws made in pursuance thereof, to vote in charter elections and to hold charter offices. They were a minority only, and a small minority, of the members of the congregations or the inhabitants of the towns. The members of the congregations were the great body of men, women, and chil-

¹ The marked analogy between the English vestry and the New England town-meeting is very clearly brought out in Professor Channing's paper entitled "Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America," printed in vol. ii. of the "Johns Hopkins University Studies." Referring to the fact that New England and Virginia dominated the continent, Professor Channing says that the political education of the founders of these colonies "was acquired at the *town council*, the *county court*, and the *parish meeting*." Speaking generally, this is unquestionably true; as it is also true that the parish meeting, or vestry, bore a close resemblance to the Massachusetts town-meeting. Both were gatherings of inhabitants, who chose officers, — constables, waymen, and the like, — bearing the same designations; and in each case similar public needs were provided for. Professor Channing, therefore, evidently regards the town-meeting as a development from the congregation, the founders of Massachusetts having followed the familiar English precedent of vestry and parish.

The theory is both natural and plausible, but it wholly leaves out of sight the proprietary and corporate element dwelt on in the text. The general court of proprietors, which lay at the basis of the Massachusetts system, was no part of the English church or political machinery. The Englishman undoubtedly carried the political education "acquired at the town council, the county court, and the parish meeting" into the general court of proprietors, exactly as he carried his speech and clothing; but the general court was not thereby made a vestry, nor did it cease to be of legal and corporate, rather than of ecclesiastical or political origin. That the town-meeting in course of time performed many of the functions of the vestry, and followed some of its forms, is indisputable; indeed, under the circumstances, it could not well have been otherwise: and Professor Channing's investigations show in a most interesting way the extent to which these analogies and similarities went.

dren — white, red and black, bond and free — who habitually worshipped with a given church; the town or precinct constituted the territorial parish, those inhabiting within the limits of which had to contribute to the maintenance of the church; and, finally, the church was the body of communicants who had entered or been admitted into the covenant. The inhabitants of the towns were those owning land, — the free-holders, — who were all members of the congregation, for they necessarily dwelt in some parish; but they might or might not be either freemen or church members.

The overlooking of these legal distinctions, all based on the corporate origin of the colony, has led to much confusion and many erroneous statements. For instance, referring to the town organizations, — the early “plantations” under the charter, — one authority says, “the idea of the formation of such communities was probably derived from the parishes of England”;¹ another authority surmises that in the early days of the original towns “such local authority as was needed beyond the orders of the court was no doubt exercised by the clergymen, deacons, and magistrates”;² and again “an analysis of the evidence tends to show that the organization of the Puritan Commonwealth was ecclesiastical, and the congregation, not the town, the basis upon which the fabric rested. . . . No one could be a voter who was not a communicant; therefore the town-meeting was in fact nothing but the church meeting, possibly somewhat attenuated, and called by a different name.”³ So elsewhere, — “If we remember now that the earliest New England towns were founded by church congregations, led by their pastors, we can see how town government in New England originated. It was simply the English parish government brought into a new country and adapted to the new situation.”⁴ Finally, it is in another place set forth as an accepted and indisputable fact that it is to “be borne in mind that only a minority of the townsmen had any voice in the government.”⁵

None of these statements are consistent with the facts or the original town records. The organization of the Massachu-

¹ Barry's *Massachusetts*, vol. i. p. 215.

² *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. i. p. 427.

³ *Adams's Emancipation of Massachusetts*, p. 26.

⁴ *Fiske's Civil Government in the United States*, p. 39.

⁵ *Memorial History of Boston*, vol. i. p. 504.

setts colony was, on the contrary, distinctly and indisputably legal, commercial, and corporate ; and not religious, ecclesiastical, or feudal. Singularly enough, this distinction, vital to the correct treatment of subsequent historical development, though sufficiently developed by Professor Parker in his paper already referred to,¹ seems to have been more distinctly perceived by a foreign writer, who is not known ever to have visited America,² than by any of the more recent native investigators, with the exception of Messrs. Goodell and Chamberlain.³ In his "English in America" ("The Puritan Colonies") Mr. Doyle says :—

"Of the various rights of the New England township the most important, perhaps, was the territorial. . . . In New England, the soil was granted by the government of the colony, not to an individual, but to a corporation. It was from the corporation that each occupant derived his rights. Nor was this corporate claim to the land a legal technicality, like the doctrine that the soil of England belongs to the Crown, and that all estates in land are derived thence. The New England township was a landholder, using its position for the corporate good, and watching jealously over the origin and extension of individual rights."⁴

[Thus the Massachusetts town-meeting was in its origin the meeting of the body of proprietors of the corporation for the transaction of corporate affairs. Such was the beginning of the system, — in its character commercial and modern, and not feudal or primitive ; legal, and not ecclesiastical.] The next question relates to development. Of whom was the town-meeting composed ? What was the constituency ? Practically, and as matter not of theory but of fact, who were entitled to, and enjoyed a voice in, its deliberations and action ?

The town records, like those of Dorchester and Dedham, show conclusively that in the earliest days the local affairs of the separate plantations were managed through general and informal assemblies or meetings of the inhabitants, — those to whom allotments had been made or dwellings belonged ; but in a short time the jealous corporate spirit of the colony was excited, and as early as 1635, when as yet there were but thir-

¹ *Supra*, p. 201, note.

² Fiske's *The Beginnings of New England*, p. 280.

³ *2 Proceedings*, vol. v. pp. 265-280, 320-331.

⁴ *The Puritan Colonies*, vol. ii. p. 16.

teen Massachusetts plantations recognized, the General Court ordered that "none but freemen shall have any vote in any town, in any occasion of authority or necessity, or that which belongs to them by virtue of their freedom, as receiving inhabitants, and laying out of lots, &c."¹ In like manner, in March, 1637, the court ordered that "All persons of any trained band, both freemen and others, who have taken the oath of residents, or shall take the same, and being no covenant servant in household with any other, shall have their votes in nomination with those who are to be appointed captains, or other inferior officers of the same band, provided they nominate none but such as shall be freemen; for it is the intent and order of the Court that no person shall henceforth be chosen to any office in the Commonwealth but such as is a freeman."²

While reasserting the exclusive political power of the freemen; this order none the less conferred a limited franchise on a large number of persons; but a far more important and far-reaching step in the same direction was made four years later, when, in the Body of Liberties of 1641, it was provided (Art. 12) that —

"Every man whether Inhabitant or Forreiner, free or not free, shall have libertie to come to any publique Court, Councel, or Towne meeting, and either by speech or writeing to move any lawfull, seasonable, and materiall question, or to present any necessary motion, complaint, petition, Bill or information, whereof that meeting hath proper cognizance, so it be done in convenient time, due order, and respective manner."

Unquestionably under the rule of 1635 only freemen under the charter could legally hold colony offices, be deputies to the General Court, or vote in the choice of deputies; but this was not the rule in town-meeting, or as respects town offices, as the following orders of the General Court, passed respectively in May and November, 1647, conclusively show: —

"This Courte, taking into consideration the usefull partes and abilities of divers inhabitants amongst us, which are not freemen, which if improved to publike use the affaires of this commonwealth may be the easier carried an end, in the severall townes of this jurisdiction, doth hereby declare that henceforth it shall and may be lawfull for the free-

¹ Records, vol. i. p. 161.

² Ibid. p. 188.

men within any of the said townes to make choyce of such inhabitants, though non freemen, who have taken or shall take the oath of fidelity to this government to be jury men, and to have their vote in the choyce of the select men for towne affaires, asseasment of rates, and other prudentials proper to the select men of the severall townes, provided still that the major part of all companies (of select men be freemen) from time to time that shall make any valide act, as also where no select men are to have their vote in ordering of schooles, hearing of cattle, laying out of high wayes, and distributing of lands, any law, usage, or custome to the contrary notwithstanding."¹

"There being within this jurisdiction many members of churches, who, to exempt themselves from all publike service in the commonwealth, will not come in to be made freemen, it is therefore ordered by this Courte, and the authority thereof, that all such members of churches in the severall townes within this jurisdiction shall not be exempted from such publike service as they are chosen to be the freemen of the severall townes, as constables, jurors, selectmen, and surveyors of high wayes."²

The foregoing provisions, as respects town-meetings and town offices, as distinguished from the General Court and the colony offices, remained in force throughout the colonial period. How did they work practically? Their legal and theoretical operation is obvious; their operation in point of fact is not so clear. Historical writers and investigators are usually students and men of the closet. Seldom have they been brought in direct and not infrequently rude contact with the practical working of institutions. Their position is very similar to that of writers called upon to describe military operations or battles without ever having taken part in the one or witnessed the other. Laws and their observance are very different things. For example, in many States of the Union there have for years been statute and even constitutional inhibitions of open bars and the manufacture and sale of what are described as "intoxicants"; and not improbably, looking merely at the statute-book, the historian of the twenty-first century may infer the rigid enforcement of the laws found in them, and assert that "intoxicants" were nowhere manufactured or sold in the States where the inhibition referred to was in force. So, during the whole of the present century, none but legal and duly qualified voters have

¹ Records, vol. ii. p. 197.

² Ibid. p. 208.

been entitled to take part in town-meetings; and yet any one who has lived in a country town, and habitually, year after year, assisted in those meetings, much less undertaken as moderator or spokesman on the floor to guide the proceedings, knows well that in practice the inhabitants of the town, and not the legal voters, make up the meeting. The inhabitants, of course, are all males; but little attention is paid to age, and, except in most exceptional cases, still less to the poll-list. Questions at issue are decided usually *viva voce*; in cases of doubt, by the raising and counting of hands. The confusion and disorder prevailing at these meetings is often great, and rules of procedure little understood. Town-meetings are largely attended by young men, and they are the favorite resort of boys. Speaking from my own experience, I may add that for twenty years I attended these meetings, and in various capacities took active part in them. I have time and again seen the assemblage divide over questions in which the deepest interest was felt, and amid very considerable excitement. Hundreds would vote when the question was put, the vote being expressed in a shout which made the whole neighborhood resound, or in thickets of uplifted hands; yet I never saw even an attempt made to exclude all but legal voters of the town from the meeting, nor did I ever hear a voter's right challenged. The law in those respects was clear; but so also was the practice.

It is impossible to produce evidence now of town-meeting practice even in the provincial period, and much more so in the colonial; for it is more than two centuries since the last came to a close: but we do know that the methods of procedure were far more simple, informal, and primitive than they afterwards became. Things now done with some regard to legal or customary requirements were then disposed of by general understanding, and no formal record even made of them. It is true social, civil, and political distinctions were more clearly defined and observed in the seventeenth than they are in the nineteenth century, but none the less to one who has taken part in a modern town-meeting the entries in the old books of record are very significant. Take the case of Braintree, for instance, of which Quincy, with the town-meetings of which I was familiar, was the original first precinct. The records of Braintree during the first fifty years of separate town life are



all included in thirty-six manuscript pages, more than half of which are filled with copies of contracts and other matters of registry usually relating to the laying out of ways or the transfer of real estate. Until May, 1640, Braintree, as Mount Wollaston, was a portion of Boston, and its earliest history must be studied in the Boston records. When incorporated, it naturally followed the lines of government with which it had been familiar as a part of Boston. The management of necessary local business was committed to a body of men "deputed for towne affairs." How these "townsmen" were chosen nowhere appears; but they seem to have been six in number, the name of one of whom, in 1640, the year of incorporation, does not appear in the lists of freemen. The first meeting of which there is any record was held the 29th of October, 1656, sixteen years after the town was incorporated, to take action about the common. It was "a publike meeting" held on "publike notis given six weekes before"; and at this meeting "the inhabitants that were their meet voted the Common for to lye as a free Common unto all inhabitants of the Towne, that are legally taken in by the Selectmen." Again, in 1657, a piece of the town common is granted to Samuel Kinsley "by the whole inhabitants . . . upon a training day." So in 1670, — "At a Towne meeting being publike notis given, and the towne being meet at Steven Paine's there was a vote passed by the inhabitants," etc., and in the previous year a vote was "passed by the towne at a generall meeting" providing that "every accepted inhabitant which is an householder in the towne shall have an equall interest" in a grant of land. In 1672, "It was agreed by the inhabitants of the Town upon a publike meeting that upon the first second day of March and the last second day of October annually that ther should be upon these dayes a generall Towne meeting of the whole inhabitants to consult and agree upon all things that may concerne the good of the Towne and for the choice of all their publike towne Officers." Then follow in the records a succession of votes passed at "publike towne" meetings, until in March, 1687, "At a Publike set day of all the Inhabitants convening together and there meet it was voted," etc. Finally, on the 20th of May, 1689, — "The inhabitants of Braintray . . . being convened together . . . Christopher Webb, Senior, and Joseph Crosby were chosen by the Inhabitants as

their representatives for the Towne," etc., and the next year "Publik warning being given by our constables to the whole inhabitants of Braintray to meet together at eight of the clock in the morning at the meeting house upon the 3d day of November 1690, being come together," etc.

The language used in the records of Braintree is the same as that used in all the other records I have consulted; and, whatever the letter of the law may have been, that language is to me very significant as to the course of procedure actually in vogue in the town meetings held under the first charter; and that course of procedure goes far to explain the outcome of subsequent events. In treating of that outcome Mr. Doyle uses some weighty words, which deserve to be here quoted. "The spiritual growth of Massachusetts," he says, "withered under the shadow of dominant orthodoxy; the colony was only saved from atrophy by its vigorous political life."¹ The source of that "vigorous political life" is, I submit, revealed in the town records, and it found its focus and standing point in the general meetings of all the inhabitants of the towns.

It does not seem necessary to carry this branch of the discussion further, inasmuch as there can be no doubt as to what the final outcome really was. But, as the result of the investigations made while preparing this paper, I cannot refrain from saying that there seems to me to have been a certain amount of misapprehension in the minds of historians and investigators as to the condition of affairs, as respects town-meetings and town government at least, under what is commonly called "the Massachusetts theocracy." So far from church and town being practically one during the colonial period, or usurping on each other's functions, the two would appear to have been kept remarkably distinct. In the church records kept by the several pastors of the Roxbury, the Boston, the Dedham, the Dorchester, the Hingham, and the Cambridge churches no references are to be found to town or temporal affairs; while in the town records the reference is always simply to the prudential and never to the spiritual affairs of

¹ Doyle's *English in America: The Puritan Colonies*, vol. i. pp. 187, 188. "Puritanism was dead, and its profession had become a wearisome cant before the Revolution of 1688 gave it that vital force in politics which it had lost in religion" (Lowell's *Among my Books*, p. 288).

the church. Indeed a careful examination and collation of these original records leads almost irresistibly to the conclusion that much of the earlier history of Massachusetts as now set forth in the standard authorities, and so currently accepted, stands in need of greater or less revision.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said he had received a letter from Mr. Goodell on the subject of Mr. Adams's paper. The letter is as follows: —

SALEM, Jan. 13, 1892.

MY DEAR SIR, — Since I wrote to you yesterday I have received a pressing invitation from Mr. Adams — to whom I had stated that I should probably be unable to attend our next meeting, on account of the state of my health — to write to you upon the subject of the essay, which he is then to present, on the "Genesis of the Township in Massachusetts." He did me the courtesy to submit to me his paper, which I read with great interest. By comparing the views I have heretofore expressed before our Society on the same subject, you will see that it is needless to say how heartily I assent to Mr. Adams's main conclusions. I claim no pre-emption in the fields of historical research, which are open alike to everybody; but I must confess to a sense of satisfaction akin to pride, to find that he has brought from "fresh woods and pastures new" ample corroboration of the views I had formed chiefly from a study of the early development of Salem and Boston, and which I expressed at some length at the time Judge Chamberlain pointed out certain fallacies of the Connecticut theorists.

I see no way of avoiding Mr. Adams's conclusion that the "primordial-cell" doctrine, of the township as an element in the creation of the State, is not sustained by the simple accessible facts of history. Moreover, I think his views, supported as they are by the record evidence he adduces, must be considered irrefragable and final, notwithstanding they tend to subvert theories which are as old at least as De Tocqueville's brilliant "Essay on American Democracy," which has had such a powerful influence in directing the tendency of modern political science.

The idea that the inducement to the formation of a particular kind of local administration must be ascribed to an hereditary impulse of so remote origin as to precede history, and that the little community controlled by this self-imposed system was an integrant constituent of the State, and a necessary factor in its evolution, involves two propositions, neither of which, in my judgment, can stand the test of trial by the record.

The model of the charter government, as Mr. Adams says, was constantly before the first settlers; but, more than that, it seems to me

the Salem town-government had been a natural continuation of Endicott's government of the plantation or colony, with similar machinery, and with the same authority, save in those particulars in which the Great and General Court of the Company, at Charlestown or Boston, claimed exclusive jurisdiction. How smoothly, how insensibly, the transition must have been effected from the council of the plantation to the board of selectmen of the town! After the former had been superseded in the management of the general business of the colony by the Assistants of the Company, the local "prudential" affairs of the plantation at Salem were still to be administered by a local council or board, selected — precisely as was Endicott's council — of "thirteene, of such as shalbe reputed the most wyse, honest, expert, and discrete persons, resident upon the said plantacon." Thus came into existence the first board of thirteen men, subsequently reduced to half that number, or less, — but always thus "select," — for managing what, in course of time, came to be known as the "town" government, and was fully recognized as such by the ordinance of 1635-36.

Mr. Adams finds the Salem precedent followed in all the towns whose early records he has been exploring.

Mr. Adams deserves praise for grasping the subject by the right end. He begins with the town record. There he finds his clew. To correct any aberration from undue magnifying, or from over-hasty conclusions, on too narrow premises, he proceeds to collate the records of one town with another, and still another, finding always an agreement, or only such differences as might have been predicted from the known geographical or social peculiarities of the respective towns. Now, is not this the proper method of getting at the truth and of establishing a law?

To what he has found in old Suffolk County and in Middlesex, I have his permission to add the results of my own researches in the older towns of Essex; though I regret that I am not able at this time to imitate him in the pertinent and systematic citation which renders his paper particularly valuable.

I feel sure that he may await opposition with perfect confidence as to the result. Let us see who it is that shall point out the flaw in his reasoning, or controvert his facts.

I need say no more — if, indeed, I have not already said too much — on this point; but I would be willing to yield to Mr. Adams's solicitation to "insert in the Proceedings" a few words upon the distinction between "inhabitants" and "proprietors," which, I understand him to say, on the authorities he cites, did not exist in the seventeenth century.

I call attention, *per contra*, to the fact that this distinction was expressly recognized by Lord Somers and the other great English lawyers who prepared the charter of the province for King William and Queen Mary; and since that charter was procured through the offices

of some of the best informed politicians of New England, including Increase Mather, and was discussed, word by word, by the agents of both colonies, and their friends in London, before it was offered for the privy seal, and never a hint uttered that this distinction was a novelty, it requires more than an inference, however strong, to change my belief that these words had always here in New England their legitimate etymological signification.

I may not have another opportunity to go into this subject before the appearance of our next serial; so I will content myself with doing here and now what I suppose my friend Adams intended I should do, — that is, enter a brief *caveat* against a too ready acquiescence in the opinion that the present acceptation of those words does not date back to colonial times. In the present discussion this is important only as bearing upon the solidarity of the “inhabitants” proper, who, it seems to me, in all past time as at present, have constituted the corporeal entity of the “town.” The phrase by which these quasi corporations are described in the law and in legal proceedings, to-day, is “the inhabitants of the town of —,” and it was the same more than two centuries ago.

Of *freemen*, there were, indeed, some who were non-resident; but, so far from being reckoned *inhabitants*, these were expressly excluded from the basis of population upon which the number of deputies from a given town was estimated; and this was done far back in colony times.

These non-resident freemen proprietors were frequently of controlling influence, — indeed, not rarely they were the original joint purchasers of the township, yet, not having their residence with the actual settlers, they were not entitled to certain exclusive privileges granted to inhabitants, and eventually were deprived of all political control. The Dorchester vote or order of 1633 does not appear to have conferred on such non-residents the right to vote in town affairs.

The fact that, by a colonial ordinance as old as the first ordinance establishing town government, it was decreed that men should be “rated onely in the place where they lyve,” is one of those indications that are entitled to great weight in determining a point not settled by express enactment.

Again, Coke’s definition of the word “inhabitant,” in his Second Institute, which Mr. Adams cites, was special, and referred to its use in a particular statute respecting the repair of bridges (22 Hen. VIII.). The man who dwells in one place and manures his lands in another is declared to be an inhabitant of the latter, “within the [meaning of the] statute”; and this is all that Coke’s commentary conveys. He simply calls attention to a construction which had been given to this statute long before his day, and which seems proper enough when we consider that the repair of bridges is, or was, largely for the benefit of the hold-

ers of the adjacent improved lands. The judicial interpretation of this statute, which was never extended to the colonies, could not affect the general meaning of the word "inhabitant" all over this New World, — making a man an inhabitant, constructively, wherever he had a dung-heap, — though possibly it might afford a text to some mouser for legal curiosities, on the wonderful prevision of the great Commentator in preparing some show of stable foundation for the "jumped" claims of "squatting" gatherers of buffalo chips in our boundless western plains.

Sincerely yours,

A. C. GOODELL, JR.

CHARLES CARD SMITH, ESQ.

The Hon. MELLAN CHAMBERLAIN then being called upon spoke substantially as follows: —

Mr. Adams in presenting his paper on the "Genesis of the Massachusetts Town, and the Development of Town-meeting Government," has told us that it was written as a chapter of his forthcoming History of Quincy; and that he had sent copies of it to several gentlemen of the Society — to myself among others — with the request that at this meeting they would express their opinions respecting the conclusions which he had reached.

This treatment of historical questions is a new departure which, so far as it tends to bring about a consensus of opinions, might be followed with advantage; but in the present instance, inasmuch as the matters contained in Mr. Adams's paper, as well as those in an earlier one to which he has referred, have been subjects of correspondence between us, and as my general views have been presented to the Society in a paper entitled "The New Historical School,"¹ there may be no good reason for my saying more than this, — that I regard Mr. Adams's paper as a valuable contribution to the literature of the subject, and in general, that it accords with my own views. Nevertheless, before I sit down I may advert to the few points on which we appear to differ.

In the mean time I wish to say something about the parochial theory, which, though not new, is newly interesting from the prominence given to it by the distinction of its recent advocates, among whom was Mr. Adams; but as he has relieved

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 264.

the ship by throwing overboard the parish system as the most cumbersome and least valuable part of the cargo, advised and assisted therein somewhat, as he frankly tells us, by one or two of the passengers who had made the voyage, some explanation of the reasons which influenced them seems due from them at this time.

The origin of the New England towns is not a new question. It has been discussed at home and abroad by those whose training and predilection for historical questions qualified them for such investigations. I propose, therefore, to mention those which have come under my eye, and have aided me in forming the conclusion that these towns were of domestic and secular origin, owing little to English models, and least of all, to English parishes.

In 1845 Richard Frothingham,¹ as the result of his investigations, said that "England did not furnish an example of New England town government"; and this seems to have remained his opinion twenty-five years later.²

In 1857 Mr. Justice Gray of the Supreme Court of the United States, then reporter of the decisions of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, in notes to the case of *Commonwealth vs. Roxbury*,³ treated one phase of the question with great thoroughness and ability.

In 1865 Joel Parker, formerly Chief Justice of New Hampshire, then professor in the Law School at Cambridge, with wider scope inquired into "The Origin, Organization, and Influence of the Towns of New England."⁴ Having myself some years ago and again quite recently gone over the same ground in original authorities, and without reference to his work, I find that I am in accord with Professor Parker's views; and were it otherwise, I should venture dissent only on the clearest grounds, and with the consensus of those on whose judgment I could safely rely. For his paper in substance, though not in form, is the judicial opinion of one whose practice as a leading lawyer at an able bar, or as judge in the highest legal tribunal of his State, led him to explore the origin of New England towns with the thoroughness and accuracy required by his great responsibility.

¹ History of Charlestown, p. 49.

² Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct. 1870.

³ 9 Gray's Reports, p. 451.

⁴ Proceedings, vol. ix. p. 14.

I have also read Mr. Melville Egleston's "The Land System of the New England Colonies," which seems to me an admirable piece of work; and not less admirable and with wider range are the papers of Mr. Charles M. Andrews, now professor in Bryn Mawr College, on "The River Towns of Connecticut,"¹ "The Beginning of the Connecticut Towns,"² and "The Theory of the Village Community."³ Mr. William E. Foster, of Providence, an accomplished writer on historical subjects, has published a valuable paper on "Town Government in Rhode Island."⁴ Either to mention or to commend in this presence "The Origin of Towns in Massachusetts," by our learned associate Mr. Goodell,⁵ would be equally superfluous.

The opinion of Professor Parker, that New England towns were essentially indigenous, has been questioned, sometimes directly and sometimes indirectly, by the New Historical School, in which Prof. H. B. Adams, the late Professor Johnston, Prof. John Fiske, and our associate Prof. Edward Channing, are leaders; and therefore, after some hesitation, I have concluded to review, though not exhaustively, the origin of New England towns. Mr. Adams's thoroughgoing paper makes it unnecessary for me to go over the whole ground. There are at least three theories in respect to them.

First, that they were native to the soil, and planted by English emigrants with the instincts, traditions, and methods of their race, but controlled, nevertheless, by their charters, patents, or royal commissions, and the conditions of situation utterly unlike those which surrounded them in England.

Second, that they were copies of English prototypes, as those were of German, and these, again, of those in remote regions inhabited by the Aryan race; and that certain resemblances common to all are specific and conscious imitations rather than those forms and modes of action which arise spontaneously in all ages and everywhere when men gather in permanent bodies as village communities or as organized municipalities. One of the most distinguished of those who have adopted this theory and pushed it to its extreme limits,

¹ Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, 1889.

² Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Oct. 1890.

³ Papers of the American Historical Association, vol. v. p. 47.

⁴ Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, 1886.

⁵ 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 320.

was Professor Johnston, who claimed that towns—not companies of men merely, but organized towns—migrated from England to Massachusetts Bay and thence to Connecticut.¹

¹ In the paper on "The New Historical School," above referred to, I said that in the cargoes shipped by our ancestors to Massachusetts Bay, no such thing as a town was to be found; and this I hear has been regarded as a denial of what no one ever thought of asserting. I had in mind the following paragraph in Professor Johnston's "The United States: Its History and Constitution," p. 10: "In New England local organization was quite different. A good example is the town of Dorchester. Organized [March 20, 1630] in Plymouth, England, when its people were on the point of embarkation for America, it took the shape of a distinct town and church before they went on shipboard. Its civil and ecclesiastical organizations were complete before they landed in Massachusetts Bay, and came under the jurisdiction of a chartered company. Its people governed themselves in all but a few points, in which the colony asserted its superiority. As the colony's claims increased, the town's dissatisfaction increased. In 1635 the town migrated in a body, with its civil and ecclesiastical organizations still intact, into the vacant territory of Connecticut, and there became the town of Windsor." This is what had been asserted, and this is what I denied,—that a town came over with Winthrop's fleet in 1630. The sole foundation for the assertion, so far as I am aware, is the following passage from Blake's Annals of Dorchester, p. 7, amplified somewhat from a similar passage in Clap's Memoirs in Young's Chronicles of Massachusetts Bay, p. 847: "These good People [those who came to Dorchester with Maverick and Warham] met together at Plymouth, a Sea-port Town in y^e S^d County of Devon, in order to Ship themselves & Families for New-England; and because they designed to live together after they should arrive here, they met together in the New Hospital in Plymouth and Associated into Church Fellowship, and Chose y^e S^d Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham to be their Ministers and Officers, keeping y^e Day as a Day of Solemn Fasting & Prayer, and y^e S^d Ministers accepted of y^e Call & Expressed y^e same." From this it seems to have been inferred that certain persons who met at Plymouth, in England, with the intention of going to Massachusetts Bay, by forming a church and choosing church officers and expressing their purpose to live together on reaching New England, thereby became a body politic, civil and ecclesiastical, at Dorchester, Massachusetts, without having acquired that character by prescription or by incorporation under the charter. So far as this assumption applies to the town, it does not require serious refutation; nor am I sure that it is better founded in respect to the church. The simplest idea of a church is that of a body of people associated together with a common belief, having power to admit and reject members, and discipline them on charges which not proven might be actionable with damages, except for the immunity accorded such bodies by the law of the place. That such a body can exist *proprio vigore* without the permission, expressed or implied, of the civil power, is, I confess, utterly at variance with my ideas on the subject. Had it been so, what would have prevented any like number of Baptists, Church of England men, or Roman Catholics having right to allotments of lands under the company, forming themselves into churches and transporting themselves to Massachusetts Bay, with ecclesiastical rights and privileges in spite of the Puritan church? How the far less pretentious claims of the Episcopal Brownes were met by Endicott and his Council, is matter of history; and how the General Court regarded such voluntary associations even by those whose theological tenets and church forms were unexceptionable, may be learned from the following order of the General Court, March 8, 1636: "Forasmuch as it hath been

Third, is the theory which, while it denies or is silent in respect to the Germanic origin of New England towns, claims that they are essentially reproductions of the English parish, and their procedure that of the English vestry. The late Rev. Mr. Barry, if not to the fullest extent of this theory, goes very far when he says: "The idea of the formation of such communities [towns] was probably derived from the parishes of England, for each town was a parish, and each, as it was incorporated, was required to contribute to the maintenance of the ministry, as the basis of its grants of municipal rights."¹

Professor Fiske puts it unequivocally that the town government in New England "was simply the English parish government brought into a new country and adapted to the new situation."²

If there be any doubt how far our learned associate Dr. Edward Channing accepts this theory in his "Town and County Government," he is here to resolve it if he so chooses.

I have read these authorities with the attention due to the subject, and with the respect commanded by the learning and ability of the writers; but if they mean more than this, that the aptitude of the English race for government is greater than that of the Latin and Celtic races, chiefly by reason of its experience in legislative bodies, among which may be reckoned English town-meetings and parish vestries, then I must dissent for reasons which I now proceed to give. But first let us

found by sad experience, that much trouble and disturbance hath happened both to the church and civil state by the officers and members of some churches, which have been gathered within the limits of this jurisdiction in an undue manner, and not with such public approbation as were meet, it is therefore ordered that all persons are to take notice that this Court doth not, nor will hereafter, approve of any such companies of men as shall henceforth join in any pretended way of church fellowship, without they shall first acquaint the magistrates, and the elders of the greater part of the churches in this jurisdiction, with their intentions, and have their approbation herein" upon pain of being excluded from admission as freemen. (1 Coll. Rec. p. 168.)

I do not propose to discuss this theory further than I have already done in "The New Historical School," chiefly because, if not given up, it has at least been greatly shaken in late years; but partly since its critical examination leads me into fields with which I am not altogether familiar, and from which those who are bring back widely different and inconsistent reports.

¹ History of Massachusetts, vol. i. p. 215.

² Civil Government in the United States, pp 39, 41, 42. And see other references by Mr. Adams to the Memorial History of Boston, vol. i. pp. 405, 427, and Adams's Emancipation of Massachusetts, p. 26.

confront these theories with the phenomena of admitted facts in regard to the origin of New England towns.

The sporadic settlements in New England which ultimately became colonies, or towns within them, were not made on territory under the acknowledged jurisdiction of any sovereign authority capable of instant and effective protection in case of assault; but on the contrary, proprietorship and jurisdiction were claimed, on the one hand, by Indian tribes, and on the other, by the French with whom the English were chronically at war. This fact lay at the foundation of origins, and had a formative influence upon developments from them, since it forced the settlers, whether families like those of Maverick at Winnisimmet, Blackstone at Boston, and Walford at Charlestown, or groups like those at Falmouth and Saco in Maine, and Portsmouth, Exeter, and Dover in New Hampshire, and Plymouth, Salem, Boston, Groton, Haverhill, Deerfield, Springfield, and Northfield in Massachusetts, and Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick in Rhode Island, and Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor in Connecticut, to postpone communal affairs, such as roads, local police, care of the poor and schools, to affairs of state, such as war and peace, limits of territory, jurisdiction and defence. Each of these towns was the possible centre of an independent colony; and five of them (Exeter, Boston, Plymouth, Providence, and Hartford) became such.

This phenomenon in the origin of New England towns may not be unique; but to find anything like it in the Old World, we must run back into the remote past until we meet a case where people leaving the protection of a settled government sought a region foreign and remote; and there, first asserting and maintaining independent statehood,¹ finally relegated them-

¹ To this fact of statehood common in the history of so many of the early towns, I think is largely due that spirit of independence, as little republics, which sometimes asserted itself even against the paramount government, but was always finally reduced to due subordination. The mistake has been made of regarding this spirit of independence — a survival from earlier days — as an ultimate fact of political independence in later days. Nothing can be further from the truth. Towns were sometimes obliged to assume the duties of the State, and on the other hand, the State not infrequently discharged communal offices; but when their character as State or town was ultimately determined, each was relegated to its own proper functions. All the powers and the very existence of towns are derived from the State. At any time it may unite or divide them, enlarge or diminish their powers, or even take them away altogether.

selves or were relegated into subordinate communities, from which they developed into corporate bodies having essential resemblance to those New England towns which have attracted attention on both sides of the water, as something the precise like of which does not appear in recorded history.

The next phenomenon, though not peculiar to New England towns, is this, — that between their coming together, either subject to some paramount government, or living independently of any such government, and their final incorporation as bodies politic, these village communities exercised certain rights and performed certain duties not unlike those which afterward appertained to them as incorporated towns. By common consent, it would seem, they divided some lands among themselves and held other lands for common use, either for wood or pasturage, and in both cases assuming corporate ownership so far at least as to make good title in the allottees. They also provided in respect to those communal necessities which, few and simple at first, increase with the growth of village communities. Nor is it unlikely, but on the contrary it is most likely, that for better understanding of their common interests they came together in assemblies, chose a chairman, appointed committees, and delegated certain powers to a select number of their body, just as they had done in their English parish vestries, and, for that matter, as reasonable people in all nations and in all ages have done and must still continue to do. In the absence of records, the facts of this stage of communal life are conjectural rather than determinate. From their later records, however, we learn some things which they did, but little as to the precise mode of doing them. This experience doubtless had great influence in shaping the form, determining the character, and regulating the conduct of towns after they became incorporated bodies; and indeed, I think that the later definition of their powers and duties by the State was mainly in confirmation of what had come to pass from the nature of things and their circumstances.

The third phenomenon is the erection of these communities into bodies politic by incorporation, not as units of the sovereign State,¹ but as dependent bodies owing their corporate ex-

¹ I cannot regard towns as units of the State, as some do. I do not see that the mere aggregation of like things produces an unlike thing, as that several hundreds of towns of derived and limited powers constitute a state of sovereign powers,

istence and exercising all their delegated functions in strict subordination to the paramount power.

The last phenomenon presented by New England towns to which I shall advert is the promulgation by Massachusetts, as early as 1636, of their rights, powers, and duties, with a completeness and precision to which the advanced civilization of two and a half centuries has found little to add. Of course new instances and new applications of communal powers and duties have arisen, and others doubtless will arise in the future; but the principle — that of incorporation for communal purposes — remains the same as it was in the beginning.

I now proceed to consider the attempt to affiliate New England towns upon the English parish.

We all know what a New England town is to-day, — its organization, the source of its powers and privileges, and under what sanction it performs its duties. But what an English town or an English parish is, — what their several jurisdictions, powers, rights, duties, and relations to each other and to the sovereign authority are, — it is not easy to say with precision. Their origins reach back to a remote and clouded antiquity, and they are what they are, not by written laws, but by growth, prescription, and specially granted privileges, so varied and anomalous that any definition of them has almost as many exceptions as there are cases included in it.

There is another impediment to the successful investigation of English institutional origins. With us, in respect to our own, such questions excite no feeling more poignant than a rational curiosity as to the truth of history; but with our English brethren similar questions are burning questions, involving in their settlement either way not only the sacrifice of deeply seated political and ecclesiastical prejudices, but also important political and pecuniary interests. Hence in the discussion of them, as in a lawyer's brief, authorities which make for one side are set forth with fulness, while those which make for the other side are too frequently suppressed or slurred over.¹

or that a hundred copper cents can be constituent units of a gold dollar, or, in fine, that species by combination can form a new genus. I prefer to regard the State as an aggregation in a body politic of those units capable of forming a State, — the duly qualified inhabitants thereof, upon whom, in the last analysis, monarchies and even despotisms, as well as republics, rest.

¹ In his "History of Representative Government," Guizot has noticed the influence of political predilection in shaping the argument and determining the

In England, time out of mind, there has been contention between those who, on the one hand, would retain within parish control not only the prudentials of the church, but also the maintenance of roads, the care of the poor, etc.; and those, on the other hand, who would withdraw from an essentially ecclesiastical body like the parish, the care of matters purely secular, and intrust their direction to that civil corporate body known as the town. This contention arrays people into parties: one claiming that since, in the order of institution, the towns antedate the church and include the great body of qualified inhabitants, by fair right they should control those secular interests which belong to municipal bodies; and the other, denying the premises, and asserting that the parish is not only the older institution, but that it is and always has been a secular institution, demand that its control of secular affairs be continued.

And so this historical question becomes an economic question upon the settlement of which depends the patronage of office and the disbursement of the large sums annually expended in municipal affairs, — whether they should be open to the whole body of qualified inhabitants of the town, or continue as they have been, in the management of the parish, which, though composed mainly of the same persons as the town, is nevertheless by its possession of machinery essentially ecclesiastical, and, under the influence of ecclesiastics beyond popular control, confines to a few persons rights and duties which belong to all.

On any question of English local history fairly treated, I defer to the English decision of it, however at variance with any opinion I have drawn of original authorities; for I am aware that an American must mainly read those authorities along the lines, and that only a native is privileged to read between the lines, where the truest part of history is always to be found.

But I am not willing to accept any history, foreign or domestic, written to serve a party or an interest; and such, after careful examination, I think is Toulmin Smith's "The Parish,"

conclusion both of Whigs and Tories, — the former in support of popularizing parliamentary representation, claiming for it a remote antiquity; and the Tories, always willing to restrict popular privileges, asserting that everything which sustains these privileges was a late innovation.

greatly relied on by those who find the origin of New England towns in the English parish of the seventeenth century.

Toulmin Smith claims that the parish antedates the town; that its origin and functions were secular, not ecclesiastical, but that this secular body had drawn to itself certain ecclesiastical functions: to all which is opposed authority equally high, at least, and the manifest tendency of ecclesiastical power everywhere and in all ages to usurp secular powers.

Brande¹ says that "in the earliest ages to the Church, the parochia was the district placed under the superintendence of the bishop, and was equivalent to the diocese; . . . but though originally ecclesiastical divisions, parishes may now be more properly considered as coming under the class of civil divisions." A late writer whose work² is commended by our associate Dr. Channing, as "the best description of the English parish at the present day," says: "Though in its origin the parish was probably framed upon the old township, it soon became a purely ecclesiastical division, and the permanent officers were ecclesiastics also. The church-wardens, with the parishioners in vestry assembled, presided over by the clergyman, managed the affairs and administered the parochial funds. Gradually the tendency increased to treat the parish, for purposes of local administration, as a unit as well as an ecclesiastical division; and it in particular acquired statutory authority to impose rates to provide for its poor and to elect officers to collect and administer the funds belonging to it; whilst on the parish from the earliest times the old common law had always imposed the duty of maintaining and repairing the public roads."

But against all this Toulmin Smith contends,³ that the parish is an essential part of the fabric of the State; that its original and main work and functions were secular; that those who seek to represent these as being ecclesiastical are truly, though without always intending it, enemies both to the religious and civil institutions of the country;⁴ that the parish was made for the administration of justice, keeping the peace,

¹ Encyclopedia of Science, Literature, and Art, title "Parish."

² Elliot's *The State and the Church*, p. 55.

³ *The Parish*, pp. 11, 12, 15, 23, 26, 33.

⁴ This, and such-like passages, I think, justify me in calling his work a partisan affair.

collection of taxes, and the other purposes incidental to civil government and local well-being; that ecclesiastical authorities are very anxious to make it appear that parishes took their rise from ecclesiastical arrangements; that ecclesiastics no sooner got established in parishes, than they endeavored to make their authority paramount there; that the old meaning of the word *town* was simply what we now call parish, and that in country churchyards, in parishes where there has never been any *town*, in the modern sense, inscriptions will be found, both of old and recent date, naming the parish, township, or otherwise, as the *town*.¹

Now, whatever may be the truth in this conflict of authorities respecting the nature of towns and parishes before 1600 or after 1630, it would be much to our purpose if we could learn what the parish was between those dates; for then the education, character, and prejudices of those who were to make New England towns were mainly formed by their participation in English parish affairs. What, then, during these formative years was there in the conduct of English parishes that would predispose them to accept or to reject them with their vestry system of administration, as models of their town organizations and the conduct of their town-meetings?

This question may be answered in part by a quotation from Foulmin Smith's book: "One of the most daring and insidious of ecclesiastical encroachments has been the attempt to interfere with the election of church-wardens, and to take the election of one of them out of the hands of the 'temporal

¹ It is by such rubbish as this that Toulmin Smith endeavors to prove the legal identity of the corporations in England known as towns and parishes; and to the same effect I have found, under some mislaid reference, the following: "Memorandum that this year 1581, by the consent of the parish of Stowmarket there was grant made to two persons of the ground commonly called the town ground of Stowmarket for the term of three years paying to the church-warden . . . and the town further do condition, etc."; from which another writer infers that the town and parish were interchangeable names of the same body. In that case we should have the parish (that is, the town) consenting to a lease made by the town (that is, the parish); or, in other words, the town makes a lease, and then the town consents to its own act, which is absurd. The real transaction seems to have been this: the town, one corporation and owner in fee, makes a lease of the "town ground"; and the parish, another corporation, having some interest in that ground, for a valuable consideration paid to the church wardens, the parish representatives, consents to the lease, thereby giving a clear title.

estate,' and make the office the donative of the parson. This attempt was made by certain ecclesiastical canons adopted by Convocation in 1603."¹ This was one of the one hundred and forty-one articles of the Book of Canons which passed both houses of Convocation in May, 1603, and was ratified by the king, but was afterward declared by the courts to bind only the clergy, not having been confirmed by act of Parliament;² but long before this it had done its intended repressive work upon the Puritans, against whom it was chiefly aimed. Besides the article already quoted, designed to enlarge the power of the established clergy in parish affairs, were others respecting parish clerks. Among the duties of the parish were the repairs of the church edifice; and under cover of this, Laud, some years later, caused the restoration of those paintings and relics of superstition and idolatry, as the Puritans thought them, which had been destroyed after the Reformation.³ And in general, the parish vestry, sometimes legally and sometimes otherwise, and always by the power and influence of its officers, became an effective instrument in the enforcement of those cruel measures which caused so much suffering to the Puritans, and finally drove them into exile in New England. This, surely, was not precisely the education, training, and personal experience which would cause them to become so enamoured of the parish system as to make it the model of their Massachusetts towns.

After the Reformation an English church with its parish vestry performed a function of the English government, and its foundation was in the constitution. A local church was part of a system co-extensive with England, recognizing no superior, no equal, no other.

The creed, ritual, liturgy, and discipline of one church were those of every other established church; and all were ordained or sanctioned by Parliament, — a secular, not a spiritual body.

Its ministers, each of whom was a corporation, were not chosen by the local church or parish, but on presentation of the patron in whom that right was private property subject to sale or mortgage, and who was not infrequently influenced by most unworthy motives, were instituted by the bishops of the

¹ The Parish, p. 291.

² Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. ii. p. 57.

³ Ibid. p. 240.

diocese ; and their support was not by voluntary contributions of the people, but mainly by tithes exacted from them under parliamentary laws.

Its secular or prudential affairs were managed by the vestry, whose powers enlarged sometimes by law and sometimes by ecclesiastical usurpations, had come to include matters having no relation to religion.

That the high-churchmen who settled Virginia should adopt this system, as they did, would accord with the fitness of things ; but that Puritans should do so, was not likely nor in accordance with the facts.

For the Puritans who came to Massachusetts Bay were in revolt against both sides of the system ; and no sooner had they reached Salem than they swept away every vestige of it. And not long after, Endicott, as has been said, shipped the Brownes back to England for openly expressing what non-conformists had professed, loyalty and love for the Church of England. So wide and profound was the change they had undergone since leaving their native shores, that those who had been non-conforming Puritans in England became independents in Massachusetts Bay, and ever after, in creed, discipline, and church order, were in no essential respect distinguishable from the Separatists at Plymouth.

What, then, was the independency which Winthrop and his people set up, and whence came it ? The Puritan church system established on New England soil, regarded either as a protest against the Arminian tendencies of the English Church, or as a mode of ecclesiastical government having relations to civil society, was an exotic brought from Geneva to England, and thence to New England. The Church of England, at the time of the great emigration, was led by the Arminian Laud ; the Puritan Church of New England embraced the creed of Calvin as interpreted and enforced by the Synod of Dort. The Church of England was dominated by a hierarchy to which the churches in every parish in England were in subjection. A Genevan church chose its own creed, established its own discipline and order of worship, called its own pastor and supported him by voluntary contributions.

It was this simple Genevan system that the refugees from persecution in the days of Mary brought back on their return from the Continent in the days of Elizabeth and James ; and

it was this Genevan system, theological and ecclesiastical, that Elizabeth and James and Charles sought to crush by all the powers of government, civil and ecclesiastical; and it was from the persecution brought on by the conflict between the two systems that they fled to New England; nor did it cease even there.¹

They fled from the Arminian Laud: what likelihood of their bringing Arminianism to Boston? They fled from ecclesiastical exactions countenanced, and in some particulars enforced by the Church of England vestry and parish authorities: what greater likelihood of their choosing an English parish as the model of a New England town?

Of course, in both systems — that which they left behind, and that which they built up in their new homes — there was one common factor, an Englishman; an Englishman with the instincts, traditions, and habits of his race, — a race averse indeed to new methods and inclined to old methods, but, nevertheless, never allowing them to stand long in the way of needed reforms, or to impede the course of essential justice, as Strafford with the law on his side found, and Charles I. with the Constitution on his side, and as did James II. when a convention assumed the powers of Parliament and changed the succession to the crown against the claim of divine right and established order. The Puritans were Englishmen in England; they were no more and no less than Englishmen in Boston Bay. We need not be surprised, therefore, nor draw any unwarranted conclusions from the fact that in their new homes they did some things after the old fashion.

And because New England towns issued warrants and posted notices for town-meetings, and chose chairmen and conducted business precisely as they had done in English towns or vestries, and as civilized people everywhere do, it

¹ The influences which prompted the movement of Laud in 1634 to overthrow the Massachusetts charter may be gathered from Thomas Morton's letter written from England, in May, 1634, to William Jeffreys in Massachusetts; "which shows what opinion is held amongst them [their lordships] of King Winthrop with all his inventions and his Amsterdam fantastical ordinances, his preachings, mariages, and other abusive ceremonies which do exemplify his detestation to the Church of England, and the contempt of his Majesty's authority and wholesome laws, which are and will be established in these parts, *invita Minerva*." (New English Canaan, Prince Soc. Ed. p. 63.)

does not follow that they modelled their towns to the pattern of an English parish.

What are the essentials of the ~~two systems~~, respectively? In the English system the Church of England, with its associated parish, was a constituent part of the English government, and its bishops were an estate in the realm. In Massachusetts, on the contrary, neither religion nor ecclesiasticism was a constituent in the Constitution, — the charter of a Land Company. Both were functions assumed by the General Court, and were ultimately lopped off with no remaining scar. However influential the clergy may have been, — and their influence can hardly be over-estimated, — they had neither place in government, nor summons to the General Court, nor voice there unless asked, and no more political power in the affairs of State, town, or church than other freemen. Nor was their loss of comparative influence in later days by reason of their elimination from the Constitution: they were never in it.

What has been said of the clergy may also be said of the Church. It had no part in the government, general or local. It sent no delegates to either house, and even its own synods were held only by express permission of the General Court.

Of the forces formative of a constitution, that is the most original and dominating which longest survives. The potent has permanence; the non-essential falls away. And so in New England towns to-day the full current of their democratic life-blood flows without a strain from the veins of that composite ecclesiastical, hierarchical, and civil body known as the English parish. Even its name must have been distasteful; for it was sedulously avoided by people and legislators for fifty years or more, and then came into use with precinct and district, chiefly to describe a part of a town set off to form another religious society.¹

¹ The relation of the town to the church within it came to be, outside of Boston, the same as that of the modern religious society to the church with which it is connected; that is, it built and kept in repair the church edifice, and its consent was necessary to the settlement of a minister nominated by the church, and it determined the amount of his salary to be levied on the taxable persons and estates within the town. All these matters were transacted in town-meeting duly called, and record thereof entered by the town clerk. When a town was found too large, or its inhabitants too numerous to be accommodated in a single church, or for other sufficient reason, it was divided territorially to form a second


For the foregoing reasons I am not in accord with those who trace the origin of New England towns to English parishes, or find essential resemblances between them.¹

In the development of the autonomy of the New England colonies there were three distinct forces aside from soil, climate, and situation, all acting toward a common end, and dominated in a sense before unusual by a common public sentiment, which formed the atmosphere out of which neither could have lived and done its appointed work. These were the state, the town, and the church; and these three, though in some sense distinct, were not three states, but one state, since the fundamental idea of a state implies its unity, however its powers are distributed, or by whatever agencies its functions are executed. Yet they were distinct in this sense: they were organizations, not merely several collections of individuals performing certain functions of government. They were corporate bodies, each having a life of its own, but all working together for the common welfare. The powers of neither were inherent. The state derived its powers from the crown; and the town and church theirs severally from the state.

I find, as I think, that the Puritan state and town on New England soil were essentially indigenous, and their development the outcome of life under the new conditions. The

church. This second church, like the first, in its secular affairs was based on the taxable persons and estates within its limits; and the new religious society was called the second parish, district, or precinct, — precinct being, I think, its legal designation. This new precinct was a *quasi* corporation for religious purposes, and, like the town, required a clerk to keep its records, and assessors and collectors. Its powers and duties were defined by statute; and we then begin to hear the word "parish," — a survival, and the only survival I find of the English parish, — in common use as the most convenient designation of the new division.

¹ In this investigation I have not been unmindful of the danger which lurks in general statements of facts, or in conclusions from them in respect to the complicated and anomalous nature of English towns and parishes at different times and in different parts of England. Though I believe I have good authority for every statement I have made, yet when I see that English specialists on the subject differ so widely among themselves, notwithstanding their opportunities for local study, and aided as they are by traditions and other sources of information not accessible to non-residents, I cannot hope to have avoided errors. It may be observed, however, that if any historical question is to be settled on general facts, — by the trend of the stream rather than by its occasional windings and retrogressions, — it is the one before us, in respect to which strong probabilities have a determinative force when the facts are disputed.



charter of Massachusetts, it is true, was of English origin, and with English definition of its powers; but from its start on Massachusetts soil it swiftly developed from a land company into a government proper, exercising the powers and functions of sovereignty with only nominal subjection to the parent State; and that New England towns, in like manner, developed their autonomies with slight reference to their English analogues, but mainly under the influence of the new government, and entirely in its spirit, — that of a new departure in a new world.

The very settlement and permanence of New England were due to influences not at all in accord with the economic or political motives which before had led to the formation of colonies with the permission of the parent State. It was religion, but not the church, — religion in the life of individuals, not religion as a corporate power. To it, as such, the colonists accorded no independent place in their system, but held it in strict subordination to the civil power.

Thus Massachusetts, in some respects unique in the motives which led to its settlement and original in transforming its land-company charter into a frame of general government, ordered the founding and character of its towns, churches, and other institutions on the basis of an independent Commonwealth. But it is the origin of her towns with which I am mainly concerned.

It is not always easy to fix the beginning or the end of an institution. We may observe, indeed, when its sun rises and when it sets; but where begins its dawn, or when its twilight ends, is quite another matter, and not amenable to exact definition. And so is it in respect to Massachusetts towns. If we refer their origin to the first enumeration of their powers, our search ends with the often quoted Ordinance of the General Court, March 3, 1636; ¹ if to their power and liability to sue and be sued, then with the statute of 1694; or if to their formal incorporation as bodies politic, then only with a search for nearly two hundred and fifty years, ending with the statute of 1785.

The period of uncertain twilight, therefore, is between the possible unrecorded action of Endicott and his Council after the arrival of the Charter at Salem in 1628, and the Ordinance

¹ 1 Coll. Rec. p. 172.

of 1636 above referred to ; and this period I shall now attempt to explore with such lights as are afforded.

Of the several attempts to form settlements along the New England coast prior to 1628 apart from Plymouth, that at Sagadahoc, in 1607, was a total failure; those of Weston, Gorges, Morton, and Wollaston, in or about Weymouth and Quincy, between 1622 and 1625, came to naught; and those in New Hampshire, by Thompson at Little Harbor, and the Hiltons at Dover, in 1623, after a sickly existence for some years, were brought under the Massachusetts jurisdiction in 1641, and so remained until their formation into a royal government July 10, 1679. These enterprises did not stand the strain of labor, want, and sacrifice.

A few individuals with their families, as Maverick at Winnisimmet, Blackstone at Boston, and Walford at Charlestown, — probably survivals of wrecked companies, — maintained isolated plantations; but the largest company of Englishmen north of Plymouth were the remnants of those who, under the direction of English capitalists, between 1623 and 1626 had undertaken to form a plantation in connection with the fisheries at Cape Ann, from which they removed to Salem.

This settlement, for some time under the care of Roger Conant, became the basis of the Massachusetts Bay Colony; and those interested in it, — chiefly West England people, — reinforced by London capitalists in 1627, obtained from the Council of New England a grant of land, March 19, 1628, which included the greater part of Massachusetts as now bounded, and June 20 of the same year sent over John Endicott as Governor, who reached Salem September 6 following. The next year, March 4, 1629, the king granted them a Charter.

This, it is to be remembered, was a land company formed as a business enterprise, whose policy determined the nature of the first settlement, and finally the character of the Massachusetts towns. Their plan contemplated the building of one Central Town capable of defence against foreign foes, and so regulated that while it allowed the planting of other towns in due time, it would nevertheless present an unbroken front to Indian hostilities such as had devastated Virginia,¹ and threatened the sporadic settlers at Winnisimmet.

¹ "Be not too confident of the fidelity of the salvages . . . Our countrymen have suffered by their too much confidence in Virginia." (Cradock to Endicott, Feb. 16, 1829: Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 136.)

This also ought to be remembered, — that when Winthrop and the East England Puritans, in the autumn of 1629, embarked their fortunes in the enterprise, it assumed a more distinctively religious character which did much to shape the character of New England. For while the Company from the first — greatly influenced, doubtless, by the very reverend and truly pious John White of Dorchester, by some regarded as the real father of New England — provided for the conversion of the Indians,¹ Winthrop and his associates seem to have contemplated the grander scheme of a Commonwealth in Church as well as in State.

As I have said, Endicott arrived at Salem early in September, 1628, and as governor immediately took charge of the plantation. Before setting sail for his government he was doubtless instructed as to his powers and duties; but these instructions, if ever reduced to writing, have not been preserved. We may assume, however, that they were in accord with those sent over to him in letters under date of February 16, April 17, and May 28 of the next year, 1629, and the accompanying ordinances.

A résumé of these powers and duties in respect to matters now in hand will give some idea of the influences which Endicott brought to bear in forming the character of towns and churches before the coming of Winthrop, and throw light upon proceedings after that event, where the records are silent.

April 30, 1629, the General Court in England declared its intention "to settle and establish an absolute government at our plantation" in Massachusetts Bay, and in pursuance thereof elected Endicott (who had been at Salem nearly eight months) governor; and he received a duplicate of the charter, and the seal of the Company. With his council he had full legislative and executive powers consistent with the charter and not contrary to the laws of England; could seize and hold the lands claimed by Oldham under the Gorges patent and expel intruders thereon; could set up a government there and build a town and choose a minister for it; arrange with the old planters in respect to the lands they occupied, allot lands and con-

¹ "And we trust you will not be unmindful of the main end of your plantation, by endeavoring to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the Gospel." (Cradock to Endicott, *ut supra*, p. 133.)

vey them by the Company's deed under seal, build a house for the ministers at the public charge, and build one chief town and determine location of all others. In the execution of these large and varied powers, it is not altogether likely that a man of Endicott's positive views and character, exemplified by his excision of the cross from the banner of England, and the expulsion of the Church of England Brownes, would find models for his towns in an English parish, thus engrafting an anomalous and highly artificial system on bare creation.

The population of Salem, including those who came with Endicott in September, 1628, was not above sixty persons,¹ to whom Higginson added two hundred the next year; and all, "by common consent of the old planters, were combined into one body politic under the same governor."² By sending Endicott and Higginson, with their companies, to Salem, the Company determined where "the town" should be built, houses erected, and all to be fortified, as Higginson informs us, with "great ordnance"; and thither came the greater part of Winthrop's fleet in June, 1630. So the location of the principal town was designated by the Company in England; and yet it shows the nature of this determining power, that when the Company was transferred to Massachusetts Bay and had examined the situation more carefully, Cambridge, not Salem, was made the capital town. Plans formed in England gave way to the exigencies of the new situation; and this was the case all through their history.

Thus Salem was the first town established under the Massachusetts patent. The next was Charlestown, and in this wise. Walford had been there some years, when Graves and Bright, probably with the Spragues, were sent by Endicott in 1629, agreeably to the instructions of the Company, to forestall the intrusion of Oldham under the Gorges patent. Graves was the company's engineer, and went to Charlestown to build the town; and Bright was the minister sent to preach to the people, and presumably to gather a church.

Such was the origin of the first two permanent towns set up on Massachusetts Bay soil; and whatever else may be in doubt, such as the precise time of the separation of communal affairs

¹ Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 18 and note.

² *Ibid.* p. 259.

from the more general charter government and their commitment to the town as an organized body politic, it seems to be clear that the choice of their sites, their laying out, the building of their houses, their municipal and religious organizations, whatever they may have been, were by the authority and express order of the General Court, and without the slightest reference, so far as can be detected, to English towns or parishes. And I think the sequel shows that this was also true in respect to all later towns.

I have called these settlements at Salem and Charlestown towns, and such they finally became; but at what time they assumed these communal functions does not clearly appear. They were never incorporated even by giving them names, as was the case with some other towns; and if such naming was equivalent to incorporation, as Professor Parker holds, the omission perhaps implies that they were regarded as already municipal corporations in 1630. The emigrants to both places were entitled to lands by allotment and conveyance thereof under the Company's seal; but no evidence of such deeds, if any were ever made, has survived, nor are there records of such allotments until some years later, though there is ample evidence of private ownership and cultivation as early as 1629, when Higginson came. It is not improbable that Endicott allotted to each party the land to which he was entitled, or for lack of such allotment that each chose for himself as had been agreed that he might.

But neither the people gathered at Salem under Conant, nor the governments set up there and at Charlestown by the Company, constituted a town in the modern sense of that word, and least of all in the sense which has made New England towns famous in history. For a time they were something more than towns, and something less, — something more, since they were centres of the charter government in whose affairs they participated; something less, because they were denied the exclusive privilege of developing their local autonomy. Circumstances determined their final character.

We must therefore widen the basis for generalization, and I now recall the circumstances which attended the settlements in and about Boston Bay.

The first emigration under the Company was led by Endicott in 1628, the second by Higginson in 1629, and the third

by Winthrop in 1630. This last landed at Salem, June 12, and found Endicott's plantation — or colony, as Dudley called it — “in a sad and unexpected condition, above eighty of them being dead the winter before, and many of those alive weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight.”¹ No marvel that Salem “pleased them not as a place for sitting down”; and five days later (June 17), Winthrop with a party came over to Boston Bay to explore the country. They sailed up the Mystic, and on their return to Salem reported in favor of Medford, as is supposed, for the site of “the town.” A later party preferred Cambridge; and accordingly their people and goods were brought around and landed at Charlestown, because from sickness they were too weak to carry their baggage and ordnance up the river; and from August 23 to September 28, Charlestown was the seat of government.

While in this deplorable condition — fifteen hundred people all weakened by the long voyage, and many sick of fevers and scurvy, without houses or adequate shelter from the sultry heat of August, more trying to Englishmen than the winter cold — news came that the French were preparing to attack them. There are few sadder stories than theirs. In this complication of disasters, not less than a hundred of their number, discouraged at the prospect before them, returned to England in the same ships that had brought them over.

In this exigency of their affairs, too weak to fortify Cambridge against the enemy, they changed their plans, and sought safety by “planting dispersedly,” — some at Charlestown, some at Boston, some at Medford, some at Watertown, some at Roxbury, some at Saugus, and some at Dorchester.²

This was in August, 1630, less than a month from their coming into Boston Bay. A month later, September 7, the Court of Assistants “ordered that Trimountaine shalbe called Boston; Mattapan, Dorchester; & the towne upon Charles Ryver, Waterton,”³ which has ever since been regarded as

¹ Letter to the Countess of Lincoln in Young's *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, p. 311.

² Dudley: *Ibid.* p. 313.

³ 1 Coll. Rec. p. 75. This order suggests two inquiries. If intended as an act of incorporation, as it ever since has been regarded, why was Boston included, and Newtowne, or Cambridge, omitted? It may have been that the Court deemed

equivalent to their incorporation. And thus we see that within three months after coming to shore in a wilderness the Company, contrary to their intention of building only a single town at first, were compelled by circumstances to lay the foundations of five towns, and permit the settlement of three others. And this, I think, is the origin of all later towns, — in the paramount power of the General Court, modified by the circumstances of each particular case. As further evidence of this, on the same day of the foregoing incorporation of Boston, Dorchester, and Watertown, it was ordered, "that no person shall plant in any place within the limits of this patent, without leave from the Governor and Assistants, or the major part of them. Also, that a warrant shall presently be sent to Aggawam, to command those that are planted there to come away."¹

What has been said accounts for the origin of Massachusetts towns so far as relates to their planting. If we now look forward six years to the Act of the General Court of March, 1636, we shall learn how their powers were recognized by implication, and what they were.²

But I admit that we must go deeper into the matter; for it may be fairly said that the Act of 1636³ was essentially a recognition of the powers, rights, and privileges already acquired and exercised by towns at that date; and if so, the question

the establishment of the government at Cambridge as an act of incorporation. And it is noticeable that some years after the capital had been transferred to Boston the Court, in 1638, ordered "that Newtowne shall henceforward be called Cambridge," thus following the precedent in the text (1 Coll. Rec. p. 228).

If the order was intended as an act of incorporation, why was it not expressed in terms, that the inhabitants of the places named should be bodies politic, with all the powers, and subject to all the duties, of like corporations in England, so far as applicable to their situation? As a lawyer, Winthrop knew that a corporation — which the Company was — could not create corporations, that being the prerogative of the crown; and were this prerogative assumed, that it might be an awkward fact, if explanation were demanded, as it was in respect to so many things a few years later. In 1639 Winthrop told what his policy had been, — as little positive legislation as possible; but "to raise up laws by practice and custom," as involving no transgression of the limitations in the charter. Was this an instance of the application of his good policy?

¹ 1 Coll. Rec. p. 76.

² Ibid. p. 172.

³ It will be observed that this order confers upon towns no powers; it is restrictive. The language is, that the freemen of any town, or the major part of them, shall *only* have power, and so forth. In the Revision of 1660 (p. 195) the law is made positive by striking out "only."

still remains, What were the origin and development of towns in the form in which they now exist ?

What we desire to learn, however, is not by what principle of human nature, everywhere and at all times apparent, it is, that every body of men who find themselves associated with a view to permanent residence in a particular place, after sufficient assurances of not being molested from without, forthwith prepare to meet those communal necessities which arise in all communities ; but rather what there was in the inherited or acquired character or training of Englishmen which differentiated the modes of development and results of their work from that of any other people. If they had kept records of their proceedings from the outset, we should be in a fair way to learn what we desire to know ; but it was otherwise : the earliest, those of Dorchester, beginning some time in 1631, though with only a single entry for that year, — a year after its settlement, — and those of Boston not until September, 1634, — four years after its settlement. But the records from what may be called the historic period, though meagre, throw some light upon the antecedent period, and indicate that the first subject which engaged their attention was, as naturally would be the case with all incipient communities, the distribution of their lands and assurance of boundaries and title. Then would follow simple police regulations, and regulations as to roads, churches, and schools. The matters must have been few and simple, for so they remained after they found it desirable to keep records of them.

Now, in respect to the first and most important of these matters, they were not relegated, as all settlers on territory not under a general government are, to mutual agreement, certainly not as to the quantity of land to which each was entitled, for that had been definitely fixed beforehand ; nor would the question of quality arise until all desirable lands were taken up. And so we find, after these records begin, that party fences and use of common lands are subjects of most frequent attention.¹

¹ It would be most interesting to learn precisely how they arranged with regard to these allotments ; but their records, if any ever existed, — which is not likely, — have not been preserved. Probably they did the business in a very informal, but apparently mutually satisfactory way ; for nothing is said about allotments (and the fact is noticeable) for some years after the first settlements, — in Dorchester, for more than two years after ; and in Boston, for more than four.

As has been said, the sites of the town within which allotments were to be made were fixed by the General Court, and the quantity of land to which each party was entitled, by ordinances in the nature of agreements between the Company and the settlers; and all that remained would be for each to receive his allotment by the proper authorities, or, that failing, to select for himself within certain prescribed limits, as he was entitled. And neither in these nor in any subsequent proceedings, whatever difficulties might come, would they find guidance in their experience in the affairs of an English town or parish. The Dorchester records, which seem to be typical, are instructive on this point. For the first three years there are hardly a dozen entries, and these chiefly of the character above described. At the end of their third year they seem to have developed their autonomy so far as to feel the necessity of bringing their action into regular and prescribed methods of procedure. But it is a little remarkable that if they came over as a fully organized English town and church, as some have thought they did, or with only lively recollections of their experience in the working machinery of an English parish vestry, they did not at once put it in operation; or if it be said that for aught we know they may have done so, then it is still more remarkable that after three years' trial of it, a dozen more years of tentative efforts were needed, as is indicated by their votes in 1633, 1636, 1642, and 1645, quoted by Mr. Adams, before they found it meeting the requirements of their situation. No; as their situation and the exigencies of their unwonted life were entirely new to them, so they found it necessary to invent and develop new methods for their satisfactory adjustment. The records of other towns show a similar state of affairs, and the adoption of similar tentative efforts in the development of their autonomies.

But lack of space forbids the present consideration of the many interesting questions connected with the general subject of the origin of towns; and this especially, — how far the conditions of development of towns and town-meeting government in other New England colonies differed — and I think they did not essentially — from those imposed upon them in Massachusetts.

In the foregoing observations I have not attempted to traverse the whole ground covered by Mr. Adams, nor, indeed, have I

confined myself to it ; but have spoken chiefly of some matters which appear to me to require a more critical examination than they have yet received, so far as I am aware.

It now remains to say a few words on some points in Mr. Adams's paper ; and in order to make clear the matters on which we appear to differ, I will begin with those on which we are agreed. We seem to agree, —

1. That the development of the Massachusetts government, under its charter, was on purely secular lines, and mainly without reference to English precedents or influence ;¹

2. That the Massachusetts towns, neither in their origin nor in their development, have any essential relations to English towns, parishes, or vestries, but were planted by the authority and under the direction of the General Court ; and that they regulated their communal affairs and modes of procedure therein agreeably to the requirements of novel subjects and unwonted conditions ;

3. That the Massachusetts church, though modelled on the Genevan system in creed, discipline, and mode of worship, rested on a civil and not on an ecclesiastical basis, without independent powers or privileges, but holding all in due subordination to the General Court ;² and

4. That the Massachusetts land system, or rather titles and assurances of estates, was anomalous, and is not easily to be understood at this day.³

¹ I have heard it said, for example, that the Massachusetts Senate and House of Representatives, as two distinct houses, trace their origin back through the two colonial houses of the Magistrates and the Deputies, to the houses of the Lords and of the Commons. The truth is, that the division of the General Court into two houses, sitting apart from each other, in 1643, was owing to a strictly local and even ludicrous circumstance.

² Ralph Smith was not permitted to go out to Massachusetts Bay, unless he would bind himself "not to exercise the ministry within the lymits of our plantation, neither publique nor private, without the consent and approbation of the government there established by us," and "to submit to such orders as shall be there established." 1 Coll. Rec. pp 37f, 390, as quoted in 9 Gray's Reports, 505.

³ I yield to no one in admiration for Mr. Doyle's "English in America," but I should not select as an example of his best treatment of colonial subjects the following passage quoted with approval by Mr. Adams : "In New England the soil was granted by the government of the colony, not to an individual, but to a corporation. It was from the corporation that each occupant claimed his right. . . . The New England township was a landholder." This statement overlooks, first, the quite numerous and very large grants of land to leading men in the Colony, either as dividends on their stock, or for eminent services rendered.

Now for the matters in respect to which we appear to differ.

The distinction between "inhabitants" and "proprietors," about which Mr. Adams and Mr. Goodell seem to be at variance, raises a somewhat difficult question which I am not quite sure that I fully understand; but as far as I do, I think there are grounds for Mr. Goodell's *caveat*. Mr. Adams's views respecting the origin, development, and autonomy of Massachusetts towns differ so widely—and in my judgment, for the better—from much that passes for history, that I am inclined to accept them not only as a valuable contribution to the studies of the subject, but as generally sound; and yet, if I may dissent from some of his positions,—and that, I suppose, is what I am here for,—I should put some things a little differently from what he does, or at least use a different nomenclature. For example, I do not perceive the analogy which he perceives between the General Court and Court of Assistants on the one hand, and the "inhabitants" and "selectmen," on the other, in respect to the subjects, or to the modes of their action severally,—certainly it was not institutional; nor do I

Secondly, it overlooks the orders of the Company in England to Endicott at Salem, for the conveyance to individuals, as they were entitled, of lands by the Company's deeds under seal, and, as I think, that all titles, whether by deed or allotment by the Company, or by its agents,—which, as I conceive, were the towns *pro hac vice*,—were holdings from the Company and not from the town. In no just sense were the towns landholders; that is, they neither bought nor sold nor leased lands; nor, save some common lands, did the towns hold them for community use. In strictness of law, the towns not being legally incorporated bodies politic,—for then, as now, one corporation cannot create another corporation; that being a prerogative of sovereignty,—they could not take, and therefore could not make, title. Those proceedings were, as I have said, anomalous, and hard to understand. Nevertheless, whatever they wished to do they found a way of doing in sublime disregard of English law and usages. Doubtless, the General Court said from time to time that certain towns should "have enlargement," or that lands should "belong" to them, and it is also true that the towns held such lands, some of which they distributed by allotment, and others held for common use, and that these titles are now good, but on what theory, unless that of long possession, as the colonists claimed in Andros's time, it is difficult to understand. It would seem, however, that all land-titles to-day within the limits of Massachusetts Bay rest upon conveyances in some way from that Company; but there can be no question that the control which the towns, whether owners in fee, or implied agents of the great Land Company, exercised in their distribution, had great influence in developing and forming the character of their autonomy. And in this aspect of the matter, Mr. Doyle undoubtedly well says, that "of the various rights of the New England township the most important, perhaps, was the territorial."

think that "freemen or inhabitants" are interchangeable terms equally descriptive of the same class of people; nor that "the inhabitants of the towns were those owning lands, — the freeholders, — who were all members of the congregation"; nor that "inhabitants" of towns "were in the nature of stockholders in a modern corporation." To me these and some similar expressions convey ideas foreign to the homely simplicity of those early people and the nature of their affairs. As I have said, the difference between us may be one merely of nomenclature; but my way of putting the matter is this, — and of course I prefer it to Mr. Adams's way: —

My idea of a seventeenth-century Massachusetts town is, that it was almost exclusively an agricultural community, having little or nothing to do with manufactures except of the simplest kind, or trade, or with anything in which "stock" could be taken. Beyond assurance of their own lands, and of their interest in common lands, the just levy and economical expenditure of communal taxes, the education of their children and the care of their souls, their interests, wants, and desires were few and of the simplest kind, and will not bear being raised by the imagination;

That the term "inhabitant" included all male adults who, either by general laws or town regulations, were permitted permanently to reside within the town limits, irrespective of their ownership of lands;

That the whole body of people within a town consisted, first, of those who had been admitted freemen of the colony; secondly, of those who by original voluntary association or by subsequent vote express or implied, had become permanent residents; thirdly, of that miscellaneous class of people who, as servants and laborers, were mainly adjuncts to families and had little stake in society; and lastly, all other persons, as women and children, not usually reckoned as members of the body politic of a town;

That in the early years of towns, as their records indicate, the first three classes above mentioned, without strict regard to their several rights, assembled "in general meeting of the inhabitants," and there, without much formality in their proceedings, disposed of their few and simple communal affairs; but as these became more complicated or of greater magnitude, the legal rights of these several classes were more

sharply defined and strictly enforced. The freemen, legally inhabitants of the town, were the sole electors of all colonial officers, deputies to the General Court, and voters on questions of a public nature as distinct from those merely communal; and though there seems to have been no uniform rule or practice in all towns, that which appears to have been most common was for all adult inhabitants, whether freemen or landholders or otherwise, to vote on all questions of communal affairs; and this was made law in 1641.

And with this simple array of their forces, these towns, unique in their origin, lacking essential experience of like circumstances, and without ecclesiastical interference or restraints save those imposed by the General Court, after a few years learned to manage their municipal affairs with such wisdom and success, ~~that in the course of time they so enlarged their~~ views, but without overstepping the bounds the law had set up, that they became a power which modified the action of the government, and in the fulness of time most effective agencies in the dismemberment of the empire, and so famous throughout the civilized world.

Dr. EDWARD CHANNING spoke in substance as follows:—

In response to the kind suggestion of Mr. Adams I have come here to-day to listen to him and to Judge Chamberlain, and I had hoped to our absent associate, Mr. Goodell. It is a pleasure to sit at the feet of these men; and were it not for the further suggestion that I should say something on my own behalf, I should be well content to remain silent. Indeed, to those of you who have heard what these masters of history have just said it might well appear to be a hopeless task to justify the theories and methods of work of what has been termed here the New Historical School. Judge Chamberlain has very kindly grouped me with Prof. H. B. Adams of Johns Hopkins University, the late Prof. Alexander Johnston of Princeton, and Mr. John Fiske, as leaders in this new and apparently vicious historical school. I say "apparently," because I do not know exactly why I am condemned with Herbert Adams or Alexander Johnston or John Fiske. I admire their motives, and honor the care and scholarship they have given to their respective tasks. If the line which separates us from the "Old Historical School" is the fact that we

of the "New" base our theories on the records, while the older writers copied one from the other,¹ I am well content to belong to the New School. But many men deserve places higher than can be given to those named above. I should place our lamented leader, Mr. Charles Deane, at the head of the school; and next to him would come our associates, Mr. Winsor and Mr. Charles F. Adams. If, however, the line which separates the New School from the Old is that the members of the former believe in the theory of the continuity of English and American history, there are many men who deserve to be known as leaders equally with the above. For example, Professor Freeman, in his "Introduction to American Institutional History," advances this theory; so too does Prof. James Bryce, in his "American Commonwealth," from which I extract the following:—

"The northern township is an English parish, a parish of the old seventeenth-century form, in which it was still in full working order as a civil no less than an ecclesiastical organization, holding common property, and often co-extensive with a town. The town-meeting is the English vestry, the selectmen are the churchwardens, or select vestrymen, called back by the conditions of colonial life into an activity fuller than they exerted in England even in the seventeenth century and far fuller than they now retain. In England local self-government, except as regarded the poor law, tended to decay in the smaller (*i. e.* parish or township) areas."²

Other leaders are Professor Howard, the author of "American Local Constitutional History," and Professor Ashley of Toronto, whose "English Economic History" has attracted much attention. With them, too, should be classed Mr. Adams himself; and I am afraid even Judge Chamberlain is catching the taint of infection. I am perfectly willing to be classed with these men; for it is a leading principle of these modern students of American history, that each student is entitled to his own opinion, provided it is based on careful and prolonged investigation; and it is a further principle, that when further research convinces a man that he has erred, his change of opinion shall be received with respect. Now, these modern students do not agree among themselves. For example, as will appear later, I cannot accept Prof. H. B.

¹ "The historian of the New School, distrusting second-hand authorities, resorts to original records." ² Proceedings, vol. v. p. 265.

² American Commonwealth, vol. i. p. 583.

Adams's "Germanic theory," nor Professor Johnston's "Primordial-germ theory," nor Mr. Adams's "Massachusetts Charter theory." But I can and do respect these men, and all the rest, for the labor and thought they have given to the work, and I esteem it a great privilege to win their respect even while disagreeing with them.

The method pursued by these modern writers is the *true* historical method; hence the name of their school should be the True Historical School, in place of the New Historical School. The true historical method consists in the examination of original records and other contemporaneous sources, and in generalizations based on such research. Where the generalizations are based on a sufficient number of records, the method is the best which has yet been devised. In every way it is preferable to the old historical method of copying the work of other historical students. In their search for truth these students have gone beyond American history, as it is usually understood, and have made use of their knowledge of the history and institutions of the English-speaking race before the colonizing of America. One great result of this study has been the application of the theory of the continuity of history to the elucidation of problems of especial interest to students of American institutions, as that phrase is ordinarily used. It seems to me that this theory of the continuity of American and English history is in itself a correct theory. The history of the English in America since the founding of the English colonies cannot be divorced from the history of the English in England and Germany before that period. There are no sudden breaks in the history of the English race, no well-defined periods separated one from the other by definite bounds. John Winthrop, in coming to America, did not cease to be an Englishman. The connection between the Puritans in England and America was close. John Hampden and John Winthrop were joint executors of Isaac Johnson's will, and there was a constant current of men to and from England and New England. The younger Vane, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Hugh Peter are leading examples of this interchange of men and ideas. American writers have written the history of Massachusetts entirely apart from the history of Puritan England, as well as of the England which preceded the exodus to America. They have also written the history of America after the Restoration as something apart from the history of Eng-

land of that time. Some of them have even attempted to discover the origin of American institutions without first gaining a knowledge of English institutions. By so doing they have fallen into grievous errors; and the employment of this faulty method by the older writers is one reason why the history of Massachusetts remains to be written.

Historical students are accustomed to divide history into periods, for convenience' sake. For example, we speak of Mediæval History and of Modern History, as if they were things entirely apart. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to say when one begins and the other ends. In a similar way we speak of the Middle Ages, as to the beginning and end whereof few scholars are agreed. This theory of the continuity of history applies with especial force to the history of institutions, as institutions are of very slow growth and are rarely invented, but almost always evolved from something which went before. True as this is of institutions in general, it is especially true of English institutions in particular, as the English race is wonderfully conservative, and clings to the old oftentimes simply and solely because it is the old, though sometimes it holds fast to things antiquated and obsolete because such holding fast is convenient. But theories, however good they may be in themselves, are oftentimes pushed to extremes; and it seems to me that the advocates of the Germanic origin of New England towns have pushed the theory of the continuity of history farther than the facts in the case will bear.

In a general way it may be correct to speak of the Germanic origin of our institutions. In a general way, too, it would be correct to speak of the Romanic origin of our institutions, and undoubtedly it would be still more correct to speak of the Romano-Germanic origin of American institutions. Perhaps the germs of our local institutions may all be found some time in those old communities living in the German forests so long ago; but they have not yet been found there. Let us apply to the facts as now stated the tests of historical criticism, as we, students of American history, are accustomed to apply them in our study of early Massachusetts history.

Certain things, as, for example, a collection of houses enclosed by a paling like that of Newtowne,¹ have been found in early Massachusetts and in the Germany of the pre-migration

¹ See ante, p. 183

period. As we are descended, in part at least, from some of those old Germans, it is concluded that in the German "tun" we see the origin of the New England town.

This theory demands two things: first, a correct knowledge of an old German social organization; and second, some historical connection between the institutions of the pre-migration German and those of the early New Englander. I think the advocates of "the Germanic theory" have made out their case on neither of these points.

Our knowledge, such as it is, of the early Germanic institutions is derived from a few sentences in Cæsar's "De Bello Gallico," and from a longer and more detailed account in the "Germania" of Tacitus. These two descriptions were written about one hundred and fifty years apart. In them a race is described in two very different stages of development. From them we can obtain, under the most favorable interpretations, only the most vague and unsatisfactory idea of the institutions of that ancient folk. Nor are scholars agreed in their interpretations of some of the most important passages. It really makes little difference, however, which of these interpretations is the correct one; for there is no reason, so far as I can see, to accept either or both of these accounts as affording a true picture of early German life. Cæsar was never in Germany under circumstances which gave him a chance to see the Germans as they really were; Tacitus probably acquired his information at second-hand. Unless these accounts are confirmed by independent authorities, they afford very insecure foundations for the elaborate theories which have been built upon them.

Students of Germanic institutions, recognizing this fact, have attempted to make them more secure in two ways: first, by explanations derived from *Lex Salica*, *Lex Baiuvariorum*, *Lex Frisionum*, and other of the *Leges Barbarorum*. These codes are written in barbarous Latin, and were compiled after the Germans had been subjected to Romanic influences, in some cases for considerable periods of time. How long it is impossible to say, as we cannot in any one case ascertain accurately when the Romanic influence began. At all events, these codes do not show us Germanic society as it was before the Migrations; and to interpret Tacitus by the aid of *Lex Salica* or *Lex Alamannorum* seems to me like interpreting that record of 1633 in the Dorchester town records in the light of Freeman's "Town Officer," published in 1793.

The second way of elucidating and confirming these accounts of Tacitus and Cæsar consists in comparing them with and explaining them by the customs and institutions of German towns of our own day. For example, one writer takes his reader to the Black Forest towns, and explains to them what he sees there by the aid of the "Germania." These Black Forest towns are most interesting places to visit. Indeed I always advise students who consult me as to a good route for a vacation trip to Europe to walk through this charming region. But there is no evidence that these towns are now as German towns were in the time of Tacitus. On the other hand, there are reasons for supposing these towns to be of Mediæval origin. Furthermore, they are situated on the Roman side of the Vallum Hadriani, or Devil's Wall of our German forefathers. From this trans-Rhenish country the Romans were driven, as they were driven from other portions of Western Europe. But this is the precise bit of trans-Rhenish Germany where, if anywhere, one would expect to find traces of Romanic influence. Be this as it may, the method itself is wrong. 'Grant that these towns are of the purest German origin, and in every way answer to the description of German towns of the second century, does not this fact tend to show that Tacitus was describing something which did not then exist? If, however, as is more likely, these towns were of Mediæval origin, they were based partly on Romanic institutions. The more closely they correspond to the communities described in the "Germania," the more evident it is that what Tacitus described in that work was not a pure German community at all, but a community whose ideas and institutions were partly Germanic, partly Romanic.

It may be said that the village-community theory of Germanic institutions is the accepted theory of scholars, and those who seek its overthrow must prove their case, — that the burden of proof is on them. Now, I am not trying to disprove this theory. I am merely insisting that it is nothing more than a working hypothesis; that it is in itself something which has not been proved, and therefore is a very poor basis on which to build an elaborate superstructure. When the students of Germany before the Migrations produce first-rate proof of their assertions, it will be time enough for us to trace our institutions back to that time and place and folk.

But supposing, for the moment, that Tacitus described

Germany as it really was in his time, and supposing, further, that the interpretation placed upon his work by Von Maurer and his followers is the true interpretation, — can we trace these institutions from Germany to England, and through England to New England? It is hazardous to say that a thing cannot be done; but, as a matter of fact, this thing has not yet been done, although very competent students have given vast amounts of time and labor to the task. That this should be so is not remarkable; for we have no written contemporaneous accounts of the conquest of Britain by the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons. The earliest written accounts which have come down to us were compiled long after the conquest, and after the conquerors had embraced the religion of the conquered. So here again there is a gap, and the process of reasoning from analogies must again be relied on. In this way many things in the England of Edwin and Alfred are found to be similar to things described in the "Germania." Now, no one knows how much of the English institutions of the period of the Wessex supremacy are of Germanic origin, how much of Romanic origin, how much of Keltic origin. Some students of English history declare that the Romano-British or Keltic civilization was swept away by the conquering Germans; that Romano Keltic institutions perished utterly from the land as far as the conquerors conquered, and were wholly replaced by Germanic institutions. This sweeping away of a civilized folk by an uncivilized folk is improbable on the face of it. Elsewhere, so far as we know, the Germans did nothing of the sort. Then, too, there are certain institutions which are in existence in England at the beginning of England's recorded history which can be accounted for on no other supposition than that they survived the English conquest. At all events, Roman civilization soon again asserted its power. This time it came in the form of the Christian Church. So great was its influence that the supposed Germanic townships disappear, and in their places are found parishes, or divisions of the former kingdoms, — now shires. What there was of local government was taken care of by these parishes, except where feudal institutions overwhelmed them. The Church became paramount in local concerns. In this way English local government must have been largely influenced by Romanic ideas, if it were not partly Romanic in its origin. It follows, therefore, from this that the more accurately the local institutions of the England of recorded

history fit the description of Germany by Tacitus, just so much more it is evident that what Tacitus described in his "Germania" was, as stated above, a Romanized Germanic village community.

Starting out with the English local organization of the epoch of written English history, whether Germanic or Romanic or Romano-Germanic, it is by no means an easy task to trace those institutions through the intervening years until the Puritan conquest of New England. In the first place, there were the Danes. They came to England, and settled down in the northern and eastern parts, driving the English before them, or at all events conquering them; and the Wessex kings could not drive them out, but were obliged to confirm that part of England to them. It so happens that it was in these same eastern counties that Puritanism obtained its strongest foothold, and it is from them that many or perhaps most of the ancestors of our New England families come. It follows from this that in all probability many, if not most of us, strike our roots, or at least a large part of them, in the rocky soil of Scandinavia and the Islands, and not in the marshes of the Elbe and the Weser. Now, the dividing line between Angle and Jute, on the one hand, and Dane and Northman on the other, is by no means an easy line to discover. Perhaps there was no dividing line. The languages and institutions of these folks were very similar. Indeed, their origins may have been the same, and we may class them all as Germans. But whether like or unlike the conquered English, these Northmen were of as sturdy and institution-creating a race as the English. It is most probable that much we call English is due to the Danes and other Northmen. In fact, this early Danish conquest of Northern and Eastern England was, to all intents and purposes, a re-Germanizing of that part of England. But it is not of these Danes that most writers are thinking, when they speak of the Germanic origin of English institutions.

Thus English institutions of the time of the Norman conquest were of Keltic, Romanic, Germanic, and Scandinavian origin; and if we could trace our institutions back to the England of that time, it would be proper to speak of the Keltic-Romanic-Germanic-Scandinavianic origin of New England towns. But it is by no means clear that we can do even this; for the Norman conquest must have affected to some degree

the local organization of England, and the Angevin coming was in reality a French conquest of England. French ideas, or Frankish ideas, very deeply overlaid with Romano-Keltic civilization, now replaced Keltic-Romanic-Germanic-Scandinavianic-Normanic ideas of the time of Henry I. Some of the old local liberty was recovered, no doubt, during the time of John and his son and of the Hundred Years' War. On the other hand, much of this regained liberty must have been lost during the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses. So it seems that in many ways England took a new start during the Tudor period, not merely in the ways that we associate with the Reformation, but institutionally as well; though, perhaps, most of the new ideas might be traced directly to the Reformation.

It is impossible, therefore, to trace Germanic institutions through English history from Germany to New England. We must take England as we find it at the close of the Tudor period and during the reign of the first Stuart. It was during the years 1588-1630 that our Puritan founders were gaining their political education. It is the England of that time that those who would seek the springs of our national life must study, and not the England of the sixth century. Just so far as we can trace an institution back from Puritan England to Germany, Scandinavia, Rome, or early Britain, just so far can we speak of the Germanic, Scandinavianic, Romanic, or Keltic origin of New England institutions.

Recognizing the impossibility of thus tracing our institutions, the advocates of the Germanic-origin theory argue from analogies. The danger of such a mode of argument may be seen by its results as above noted. Mr. Adams and Judge Chamberlain have dealt so fully with this part of the subject that it would be useless for me to say anything. Certain things, such as defensive palings, etc., seem to belong to certain environments and to certain stages in racial development. The argument that because a New England town and a German village were each surrounded by a defensive wall, the one is descended from the other, proves too much. A similar line of argument would prove the origin of New England towns to be the Massai enclosure of Central Africa or the Rome of our school-boy days.

Mr. Adams and Judge Aldrich and Judge Chamberlain have so fully disposed of the "primordial germ" theory of the "Connecticut School," that I will do no more than add my voice

to the chorus of condemnation. Our towns were of legal origin, and our State was of legal origin. As subjects of the King of England, the people of Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut were legally and constitutionally entitled to govern themselves, until the king made some other disposition, or sent a governor of his own to govern them. The Connecticut towns enjoyed no rights except what they enjoyed under the crown. All power in Plymouth or Connecticut was as surely from the crown as was the power of towns in Massachusetts, or of parishes in Virginia from the crown. The theory that an Englishman, coming across the water, placed himself outside of the English Constitution is entirely without foundation. So long as he enjoyed protection, he owed allegiance, and so long as he owed allegiance, he was subject to the English Constitution, whether in Providence or London.

Nine years ago, in an essay on the origin of local government, I used these words : —

“The exact form which the local organization of each colony should assume, depended on (1) the economic conditions of the colony ; (2) the experience in the management of local concerns which its founders brought from the mother-country ; and (3) the form of church government and land system which should be found expedient.”

On page 8 of the same essay I stated, in explanation of the second factor in this development, that “this education was acquired at the town council, the county court, and the parish meeting.” As there was no account of the English town or parish system of the later Tudor and earlier Stuart period in existence, I included a brief account of that institution in my essay. Toward the end of that paper I said that both the Southern parish and the New England town were “survivals” of the English Common Law parish of 1600. Since writing that paper, I have twice gone over the same ground, and do not find myself in a position to change or to modify the opinions then expressed, except that perhaps I should now use the word “representative” instead of “survival.”

It has been stated elsewhere¹ that English writers are not agreed as to the origin of the parish, and extracts have been given to show this. The first authority cited on this point is “Brande.” The name was unfamiliar to me. But after looking in the bibliographies of English local history without meet-

¹ Town and County Government, p. 1.

² *Ante*, p. 221.

ing it, I looked on the titlepage of the book itself,—"A Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art." It appears that "William T. Brande, Professor of Chemistry," was the editor-in-chief, and he had the assistance of a small corps of specialists. The article on "Parish," however, is not signed. It seems to have been compiled from Joseph Bingham's "*Origines Ecclesiasticæ*." The first part of this work was published in 1708; the second part, containing the matter here noted, was published in 1711. Brande's "Dictionary of Science" was published in 1842. The passage quoted by our associate is as follows:—

"[Parish.] Probably an ecclesiastical division of a town or district subject to the ministry of one pastor. In the earliest ages of the church the *parochia* was the district placed under the superintendence of the bishop, and was equivalent to diocese. It denoted, says Bingham, not only what we now call a parish church, but a city with its adjacent towns or country regions."

The last sentence is extracted from Bingham's "*Origines*," vol. iii. p. 518, ed. of 1711. As an authority on the subject of the origin of English local institutions, I am informed that Bingham, chemically interpreted by Professor Brande, is absolutely worthless,—is, in fact, no authority whatever.

The theory of the "secular origin of the parish" is thus stated by Toulmin Smith:—

"An examination of the most authentic records shows that the parish is the original secular division of the land.¹ . . . There can be no doubt that either the name parish has become substituted for that of tithing (if the latter was ever used territorially) to express the same division of the land, or the division of the tithing has given way for precisely the same purposes to the one which we now call Parish."²

In a note he adds that "tun" (town) is the old name for "tithing." Unless I am very greatly mistaken, what Smith had in mind was that the original secular division of the land was the tithing, town, or "tun," and that the Parish was the tithing, town, or "tun" under another name. This certainly is the interpretation which has been placed on this part of his argument by the leading writers. For example, Bishop Stubbs, who, by the way, is better authority on these subjects than

¹ The Parish, p. 15.

² Ibid. p. 16.

the chemical Brande or the antiquated Bingham, gives Smith's "Parish" as one of his authorities for the following description of the origin of the parish:—

"The historical township is the body of allodial owners who have advanced beyond the stage of land-community, retaining many vestiges of that organization; or the body of tenants of a lord who regulates them or allows them to regulate themselves on principles derived from the same. . . . In a further stage the township appears in its ecclesiastical form as the parish.¹ . . . In small parishes the idea and even name of township is frequently at the present day sunk in that of the parish; and all the business that is not manorial is despatched in vestry meetings."

In another place, in speaking of tithing, Stubbs says it is quite possible that the name itself as well as the functions merged in those of the township. Again he reiterates the fact that "the parish then is the ancient *vicus* or tun-scipe regarded ecclesiastically"; and finally he says that the township represented the principle of the mark, and formed "the basis of the parish."

The Hon. Arthur Elliott, whose description of the parish *as it exists at this moment* is the best we have, follows Smith and Stubbs when he says: "In its origin the parish was probably framed on the township."² Still another recent writer, Laurence Gomme, author of "Primitive Folk-moots" and a master in this field of study, says: "The township under its ecclesiastical name of the parish has become the administrative unit of the state machinery."³ On another page he says: "It is very important to bear in mind the original secular as well as sacred position of the parish church."⁴

As to the secular character of the parish officers, Toulmin Smith, in the following "admirable" (according to Gomme) sentence, thus expresses his view: "Churchwardens are secular officers . . . They have many important duties, — the greater part of which concern matters that have nothing at all to do with the church."⁵ The same idea is expressed

¹ Constitutional History of England, vol. i. p. 85.

² Church and State, p. 55.

³ Literature of Local Institutions, p. 200.

⁴ Ibid. p. 213.

⁵ Smith's article on the Church Rate Question, 1856, quoted by Gomme, Literature of Local Institutions, p. 214.

more strongly still by Stubbs in the following extract, which is also interesting as showing Stubbs's idea that the vestry, parish meeting, and town gemot are descended one from the other: —

“In the vestry meeting the freemen of the township, the rate-payers, still assemble for purposes of local interest, not involved in the manorial interest; elect the parish officers, properly the township officers, for there is no primary connection between the maintenance of roads and collection of taxes and the parish as an ecclesiastical unity, — the *churchwardens*,¹ the way wardens, the assessors, and overseers of the poor. . . . The vestry is the representative of the gemot, with which it was once identical.”

There is therefore as complete accord between Smith and Stubbs, Elliott and Gomme, as could with any fairness be expected, considering the great advantages in the way of material enjoyed by the latter. Smith broke the way for the student of English local history, and produced a book which after the lapse of thirty years is still declared to be “the most important book” on this subject by one of the very best judges.² It is seldom given to a pioneer to achieve so large a measure of success. Nor does it detract from the merit of the work in my eyes that it was written with a view to securing a return to the method of local self-government enjoyed by the English at the time of the Puritan Emigration. On the contrary, it seems to me that the aim was one which should appeal to every New Englander. Apart from this, however, the book is invaluable as containing records extracted by Smith from the originals and still unpublished. I have verified hundreds of his references, — all that I could verify relating to my subject, — and it should be stated that Smith was more accurate in his quotations than was usual at the time he wrote.³

It makes no difference to us whether the theory of the secular origin of the parish is correct or not. It is held by all the leading writers on the subject, though, as above pointed out, it does not seem to me that we have yet enough data to make any sound generalization on the early institutional history of England. What does concern us is the secular character of

¹ The *Italics* are mine.

² Laurence Gomme, *Literature of Local Institutions*, p. 227.

³ For a further estimate see *Town and County*, p. 9, note 1.

the parish in 1600-1630. It should be stated, perhaps, that so far as the records show, the Canons of 1603 made almost no difference, — it had been the custom in many parishes for the parson to appoint one warden for many years. The Canons of 1603 were never legally binding, as they were never confirmed by act of Parliament. It should also be noted that Laud had nothing to do with the ecclesiastical government of England until later, — as indeed our associate points out.

Without writing an essay on the subject, I wish to enforce what Smith and Stubbs have said as to the secular nature of the churchwarden's office, and in doing that to show the nature of the functions discharged by the parish. In reading this statement it should be borne in mind that the churchwardens are the administrative officers of the vestry, and that the vestry was the common or open vestry or parish meeting of all the parishioners. I take the following particulars from the Churchwarden's Accounts of Tavistock. Let us take the payments for one year and divide them into two classes, — payments for religious objects and payments for secular objects. The year selected is 1605, and it is selected simply because it was a year of profound peace. The churchwardens of Tavistock in that year paid out seventy-one pounds sterling, divided as follows: for religious objects; for lifting the fourth bell; for the expenses of the visitation; for the parishioners not wearing caps on Sundays; for repairing graves; for mending the leads. The items for secular objects are much more numerous, as follows: —

“ For drawing of stones to the East Bridge, for carrying home the moore stones for the East Bridge; carrying of stones to the East Bridge, and for earth for the same; for the removal of the rubble from the higher market house and from the church bridge; for a new coat for William Jane; for mending the East Bridge; to J. Arthur the cobbler, to go to Lamerton with a vagrant person; for keeping clean of the church armor; for mending the pavement of the church bridge; for wood which was burnt at the coronation day; for the relief of the town of Otterye; for mending the cage.”¹

Other entries in these records seem to point to a system of public education in the parish, as for example: “Paid Mr. Clearke the schoolmaster for one quarter year's teaching.”

¹ Tavistock Churchwarden's Accounts, 1605-1606.

This is under date of 1629-1630. These accounts are not given in full by the editor; but it appears that there was a public school as early as 1588, for in that year "John Drake, the schoolmaster, for teaching in the Grammar School," was paid twelve pounds, and "Nicholas Watts, for teaching of the little children," was paid four pounds. There was also a parish schoolhouse in 1588, because in that year nine pence was paid "for a chain and setting in thereof for the fastening of the Dictionary in the Schoolhouse." In 1657 a great deal of work was done about the schoolhouse; but whether in the nature of repairs or in the building of a new house cannot be stated.

The parish was also the unit of the military system, every parish being required to keep on hand certain arms and equipments, and to provide when necessary the soldiers to use them. The Churchwarden's accounts show how this duty was discharged. For instance, in 1627-1628, the churchwardens of Tavistock paid five pounds for powder and match, and ten pence for a satchel to carry this powder in; and also paid the trained soldiers who went on service to Plymouth one pound two shillings, and the church armor was cleaned every year. I will close this exemplification of the secular nature of the Churchwarden's office with the following entry as to the choosing a committee to take charge of the poor, long before the Act of 48 Elizabeth. The date is 1585, and the words used are interesting: After giving the names of eight persons, the record proceeds to explain that these men were "selected and chosen the eight men by general assent and consent of the parish of Tavistock, to be Supervisors and dispensators to and for the behoof of the poor people of said Church and parish."¹

No conclusion can be based on the records of one parish; but when the records of a dozen parishes scattered over England agree in certain points, and show furthermore that the parish was doing what the law required of them, this agreement is a good basis, it seems to me, for a theory as to the actual state of affairs in the English early seventeenth-century parishes. I hope at no distant day to lay the results of this study before the Society.

The relative importance given to the influence of government and to the influence of inherited or acquired experience seems to be the precise point on which my friends, Judge

¹ Calendar of the Tavistock Parish Records, p. 92.

Aldrich, Mr. Adams, Mr. Goodell, and Judge Chamberlain, and I join issue. Perhaps the reason why I assign so little importance to the governmental organization is because my researches, extended far beyond the limits of Massachusetts, have convinced me that the differences in the local organizations of the North and South can be easily accounted for by the different economic and social conditions ; and furthermore, it may be stated broadly, I think, that, leaving out the influence of the central government and of the ecclesiastical organization, except as the latter affected the social fabric as distinguished from the political fabric, the local government of Massachusetts and Virginia would have been precisely what it was in 1760 ; for the two leading factors were the environment and the experience of the managers of the enterprise. Economic conditions prescribed the settlement of Virginia in a certain way, and legislative enactments were not able to overrule her destiny. In Massachusetts the environment of the colonists prescribed an entirely different mode of settlement ; and Massachusetts has marched along the lines then laid down, regardless of changed governments and religions. There are natural laws governing the relations of man with his fellow-men as surely as there are natural laws governing the flow of water. Against these natural laws legislative enactments are powerless ; so, too, are traditions and experience acquired under other conditions of environment. But experience and legislative enactments determine, to a great extent, the early form of colonial institutions. In Massachusetts experience seems to have been the determining cause, and the legislature seems to have accepted the form dictated by experience. All this is directly opposed, on the face of it, to Judge Aldrich's and Judge Chamberlain's view.

Judge Chamberlain has said that we have "the lading of the ships in which they came," and that "we nowhere find mention of Magna Charta, the British Constitution, the Petition of Right, or English institutions."¹ I have never seen the bill of lading of the "Arbella," for example, and therefore cannot state accurately that they did bring these things. But what was the English Constitution ? Who knows ? I for one do not know what it was in 1630 ; but it included within its broad fold Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and English

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. v. pp. 267, 268.

institutions. It is one of those things I should not expect to find on a bill of lading. The English constitution consisted in the statutes of Parliament and the customs of the realm. It would have been impossible to have brought these in the "Arbella." But I make no doubt that in that fleet there were books containing Magna Charta, the Petition of Right, and other important statutes. Probably also there were treatises on the Constitution, such as Coke's Institutes, — a second edition of which came out not long before the "Arbella" sailed. Then, too, there were probably in the libraries of the founders of the colony books like Lambard's "Justices" and "Constables," treating of the duties of various officers which the Company appointed almost as soon as they reached the shores of the new home. Copies of these books, which were in New England at an early day, are still to be seen in our libraries.

But whether they had these documents or not, the English Constitution followed them. In those days of inalienable allegiance one could not shake off one's nationality as a dog shakes the water from his coat. Furthermore, there is no evidence to show that our forefathers wished to do anything of the kind. Their land was granted from the crown; they were in enjoyment of the protection of England, and hence enjoyed as much of the common and statute laws of England as was applicable to their circumstances. By their coming hither with a license from the king to found and govern a colony, they brought with them as part of themselves the English Constitution. It was not necessary, therefore, to mention the Constitution of England in the bill of lading of the "Arbella." But apart from the constitutional view of the case, is it reasonable to suppose that a leader of the Massachusetts Colony divested himself of his experience as an Englishman when he left England? Let us take John Winthrop as an example. So far as I have been able to discover, John Winthrop was regarded as a most valuable acquisition to the Massachusetts enterprise. He himself says that, "in all probability, the welfare of the plantation depends on my assistance; for the main pillars of it, being gentlemen of high quality and eminent parts, both for wisdom and godliness, are determined to sit still if I desert them."

Winthrop was a man of skill and experience in the management of affairs; shall we suppose that when embarking on the "Arbella" he divested himself of his political skill and experience, as one takes off one's overcoat? It is true that his expe-

rience was probably not mentioned among the contents of the "Arbella." But John Winthrop was mentioned, and the name "John Winthrop" must be held to have included not merely his physical body, but his talents and experience; and so with Ludlow and the rest. And when they settled here they applied their experience to the problems which confronted them in their new homes, as they had applied it to the solution of the problems which arose in the old home. For example, many of them had been Justices of the Peace in the old home. One of the very first things the leaders of the enterprise did was to establish the system of justices of the peace bodily in Massachusetts as it then existed in England, by the following vote passed at the first Court of Assistants held in Massachusetts, August 23, 1630: —

"*Ordered*, That the Governor and Deputy Governor for the time being, shall always be Justices of the Peace; and that Sir Rich: Saltonstall, M^r Johnson, M^r Endicott, and M^r Ludlow shall be Justices of the Peace for the present time, in all things to have like power that Justices of the Peace hath in England for reformation of abuses and punishing of offenders."


This last clause really gives us no information that the student of institutions does not possess from a careful study of the subject. For we see by a study of the records that at first the magistrates or some of them exercised the same powers that justices of the peace exercised in England. So in like manner the student finds that in their management of town affairs, so far as the problems here were the same as the problems solved in England, they managed their town affairs here as they had done in England. This is hardly to be called reasoning from analogies, because in the case of one town at least (Dorchester) there is scarcely a break in the chain of historical evidence. Where the records are silent and we cannot fill them from other sources, the advocates of the continuity of institutional history have as much right to reason from analogies as the student of the older historical school has to argue from imagination.

There is a gap in the history of the settlement of Massachusetts which I hope may sometime be filled, as I feel confident that a search in the parish chests and other local deposits of documents in England will reveal information on these points.

We really know very little of Massachusetts from the signing of the agreement at Cambridge on August 29, 1629, to the year 1635, when the local records become abundant. In the summer and autumn of 1629 the plans of the Massachusetts colonists seem to have undergone a complete change, or it may be that old plans which had been for a time suspended were now brought forward and put into execution. From the statement in Winthrop's "Essay in Vindication of Massachusetts" from the charge of being an arbitrary government, it would seem that even when the charter was procured it was designed to establish the government of the Company in the colony precisely as was afterward done. At all events in the summer and autumn of 1629 it was determined to found a self-governing (under the Crown) colony in Massachusetts in place of the colony which had up to that time been governed from London as former colonies had been governed. There must have been many conferences as to land-holding and local self-government in the New World of which we now have no information. It is not conceivable that men like Ludlow, Johnson, and Saltonstall and their followers should have sold a large part of their property in England and embarked for Massachusetts without some guaranty as to their lot in the colony. Probably there was much correspondence which is not now known, and there may have been agreements between the Company and bands of colonists which were entered on the record or placed among the files of the Company but have never been printed. It seems susceptible of proof that Ludlow, Warham, and Maverick with their followers came over here expecting to live together, and so far as I have been able to follow the matter, others expected to settle down with Saltonstall and Phillips.

The Dorchester people "resolved to live together" before they left England. They came over here in the "Mary and John," and arrived in advance of Winthrop and the rest. They "landed in health," according to Clap, on May 30. They then explored the harbor, went up Charles River, and finally settled down at Mattapan. On June 12 the "Arbella" with Winthrop arrived at Salem. On June 17 Winthrop reached what is now Boston Harbor, and on June 18 he arranged some differences between Captain Squib and his passengers, who are described by Winthrop in his Journal as "set down at Mattapan." It

seems to me, therefore, that so far as we have any records they go to show that the Dorchester people came over here as a community, and settled down on a site of their own selection, without asking the permission of Endicott, who was then the Governor mentioned in the vote as to land of May 21, or asking or receiving permission from Winthrop when he arrived more than two weeks later. Moreover, the early records are singularly vague and silent as to a confirmation of land to these people, or giving them any rights of local government. At one of the early meetings of the Company the name Mattapan was changed to Dorchester; but there is nothing in the early records of the Company as to the limits of Dorchester or of the other early towns. These Dorchester people too, so far as the records show, were given no authority by the General Court to allot lands and elect a committee to manage their business affairs, or indeed to manage their business affairs themselves unless the phrase "Mattapan shall be called Dorchester" conferred those rights. The Dorchester records begin in 1632, and for a time contain no entries except as to the allotment of lands. In 1633, however, comes the record cited in "Town and County Government, p. 28," and by Professor Howard, and now by Mr. Adams, which provides for general meetings of all the inhabitants to manage the affairs of the town, and for the selection of a committee to look after the business in the interims between these general meetings of all the inhabitants. A year and a half later the General Court recognized the system of town government which had then grown up, not in Dorchester alone, but in the other towns as well, so far as any record we have shows; and while confirming the usage, restricted the right to vote in these affairs to freemen. From this starting-point the town system developed as the circumstances of the place and the political experience of the founders directed.



Now a few words as to the legal status of these early towns. I believe, though it is nothing but a belief, that some agreement on these points was reached before leaving England; but we know nothing as to that. It might very well be that such agreements were informal, or it may have seemed best to those who were coming over to wait until the New World was reached and the control of the Company's affairs was actually in their own hands, before making any permanent arrangements. It

would also accord well with Winthrop's English nature to let things take their course, and then to adopt as the policy of the Company such policy as commended itself to the freemen after a few years of actual experience with the new home. So far as the records show anything, they indicate that this was the precise method adopted.

One other point occurs to me. ~~Mr. Adams maintains that the charter was the model on which the town system was based. I think there are two objections to that: first, the towns were not based on any model; they grew by the exercise of English common-sense and political experience, combined with the circumstances of the place. Secondly, and much more important, I think, the freemen in general were by no means so in love with the general government of the Company at that time as to wish to model their town government upon it. To make this clear, let us see how the charter was being interpreted by those in power during these years. In 1631 it was voted that the Assistants only should be elected by the freemen, the Governor and Deputy-Governor being elected by the Assistants out of their own number. In 1631 also the Assistants levied a tax, which gave rise to a protest from the people of Watertown; and the protesters came to Boston on Feb. 17, 1631-2, when Winthrop expounded the nature of the Assistants' power as follows. He said the government of Massachusetts was not like that of an English city, where the "mayor and aldermen have not power to make laws or raise taxations without the people." On the contrary, the Massachusetts government was "in the nature of a parliament," the Assistants being chosen by all the freemen, who could, at the General Court, "consider and propound anything concerning the same, and declare their grievances without being subject to question." That was an interpretation of the charter so far as it concerned the power of freemen and Assistants by the chief man and magistrate. In establishing a town system, with a general meeting of the inhabitants and a committee to manage affairs in the intervals between the town-meetings, I do not think the Dorchester people were following the charter, with its Assistants in the nature of a parliament, and its General Court with its right to propound grievances, without being questioned. Yet it was in these years that the town system was evolved in all its essential features; and I believe that~~

the town system of England, from which they had just come, with its incorporated and unincorporated towns, with their general meetings of freemen or inhabitants and their aldermen or committees of experienced persons, had much more influence in determining the form which it took as early as 1633, according to that entry in the Dorchester record book, than had anything else, except the necessities of the case.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR presented, in behalf of Mr. Charles E. Norton, literary executor of the late James Russell Lowell, an unpublished diary of a journey from Charlottesville, Virginia, to the junction of the Ohio and the Wabash Rivers, kept in 1836 by Lucian Minor, together with a commonplace book and other papers bought by Mr. Lowell from the family of Mr. Minor. On motion of Mr. Winsor, all the papers were referred to the Committee for printing the Proceedings.¹

¹ Lucian Minor was a native of Virginia, and was born in Louisa County, April 24, 1802. He received such instruction as the Virginia schools of that period could impart, but did not receive a collegiate education. He, however, read law and completed his professional studies at the Law School of William and Mary College. He then went to Alabama, where he spent a year. On his return to Virginia he established himself as a lawyer in his native county. From 1828 to 1852 he was the Commonwealth Attorney for Louisa County; and from 1855 until his death, in 1858, he was Professor of Law in William and Mary. He was a frequent contributor to the "Southern Literary Messenger," and besides editing several law books published a tract entitled "Reasons for Abolishing the Liquor Traffic," which is said to have had a sale of thirty thousand copies. Among his manuscripts which came into Mr. Lowell's possession was an account of a visit to New England in 1834. This was printed in the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh volumes of the "Atlantic Monthly," with an introductory chapter by Mr. Lowell. There was also a part of a very interesting letter to Mr. Minor from the late President Cornelius C. Felton, on the slavery question, written probably in 1855; but it is in too fragmentary a condition to be printed. The diary now given is neatly written in a small memorandum book, and covers one hundred and thirty pages. It begins with his departure from Charlottesville, Virginia, November 22, and ends abruptly with his arrival near Shawneetown, Illinois, December 21. The first thirty-one pages, which contain an account of his journey by way of Richmond and Baltimore to Washington, are so largely of a private and personal character that it has not been thought desirable to print them; and at the end a few leaves have been torn out. It is evident, however, from the fragments of those leaves which remain that most of them were blank. If the diary was continued after Mr. Minor's arrival at Shawneetown, the continuation must have been in another book; but it is probable that it ended at this point, as there were still a considerable number of blank leaves remaining, on which he never wrote. In printing the diary most of the abbreviations, which are very numerous, have been spelled out.

A Journey to the West in 1836.

Tuesday, Nov. 29th. Up at 7. Pottered (as Miss Fanny Kemble would say) till breakfast. Then read newspapers till 10 o'clock. Walk to post office, office of Colonization Society, Mr. Fendall, and Mr. Gales, Sr. Mr. F. is a lawyer of talents and standing, but devotes all to the colonization cause. Mr. Gales is an Englishman, father of the senior editor of the *National Intelligencer*, once himself an editor at Raleigh, and one of the most hale and good-looking of octogenarians. I had never seen either of them before, but on making myself known we became fast friends. They never heard before, and are much astonished at hearing now, a story told me by General G., as coming from old Mr. Hersey, about the legislative council of Liberia, deliberating and nearly resolving upon enslaving the adjacent natives. They gave me four numbers of the *Liberia Herald* to be used to the best advantage. Spent several busy and laborious hours in walking to and fro between the several Departments and a Bank where my business was. An interview with Mr. Treasurer Campbell and with a much better man, Mr. P. G. Washington. I am thrown all aback by learning here to-day that the Treasurer's receipts for specie deposited with him for western lands to be located must specify the tract precisely. This makes it impossible for me to procure any such receipt. At Mr. W.'s suggestion, however, and partly through his intervention with the cashier of the Bank of the Metropolis, I at length got draughts upon banks in New York and St. Louis, which will perhaps answer my purposes; also some Virginia military scrip for bounty lands. This so far prepares me for action that I set off at 3 to-morrow morning for Pittsburg, Cleaveland, &c. The clerks in the Departments are wonderfully obliging and polite. Several of them to-day have taken a good deal of trouble in shewing me to the offices or rooms which I had to visit, and in giving me information I wanted. Upon their ranges of knowledge the effect of the division of labour is clearly discernible. Each (however skilled in the affairs of his own office) is egregiously ignorant of all that concerns the other offices. *Ex. gr.*, no one in the Land Office proper knew of the rule which has caused me such perplexity about receipts for specie, that being an affair of the Treasury, though seemingly one also of the Land Office. By the way it is a most culpable neglect in the Secretary of the Treasury not to have notified the public of that rule. After dinner walk to bookstore; a tempting book of engravings and poetry called "*Flowers of Loveliness.*" Abstained from purchasing a single book. *Euge!* Night, wrote letters to Patton and Blachford, and sent *L. Heralds* and other papers to various persons. Took passage in



the stage to Frederick, Maryland. Have to be waked at 2 in the morning. To bed at 11.

Wednesday, Nov. 30th. The porter entered and roused me at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 2. Off at 3, and hey for Pittsburg; through Georgetown, and then nearly northwest. A chattering stage-agent is in company. He promises me that I shall get to Pittsburg in 2 days and a half; but this is at the cost of travelling all of 2 nights. Rockville, a decayed, sorry village before daybreak. Our agent almost committed a burglary upon the hotel where we stopt to change horses; so violently did he thump, kick, and bawl at the door. It was opened by a negro man, of several who were sleeping upon pallets strewed over the floor. After much good humored storming, the agent succeeded, by the time we were summoned to the coach again, in having a small blaze kindled in a cold stove that stood in the midst. He indemnified himself for the want of external fire by pouring liquid down his throat, and invited all the rest of us to partake with him. The country is very poor, reminding me strongly of Virginia. There are fields of blended gullies and broomsedge, enclosed by tottering and low worm fences, which even without several well laden persimmon trees, are absolute *fac-similes* of the Ould Dominion. Only 8 or 10 miles from Washington we passed a farm which sold in 1817 for \$28 an acre, and lately for \$4.

Hyattstown. By this time it was sunrise; and a Liberia Herald which I had exceedingly surprised and amused my fellow passengers, none of whom had dreamed of a newspaper in Africa. Breakfast at Clarksburg, 80 miles from Washington. The next county, Frederick; improved looks of the farms and fences. The hills are getting higher and higher; and the mountains are in sight. Monocasy River, spanned by a long covered bridge. It is not navigated this high, though 80 or 100 yards wide. The slate, which was in strata trending N. W. and S. E. for 15 or 20 miles below this river, here gives way to limestone; still, however, occasionally shewing a seam of slate or a mass of quartz. Two swearing and drinking drivers this morning. Nowhere in Virginia have I seen plainer signs of intemperance and its various attendant vices than in Maryland and that part of Pennsylvania between Baltimore and Philadelphia.

Frederick City, handsome, spread over a considerable part of a rich and well improved valley; 8 or 9000 inhabitants. Our road (which from the Monocasy is a turnpike) crosses the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad only a mile or 2 east of Frederick. A court martial is sitting here to inquire into the causes of the failure of the Florida campaign, and apportion the blame between Generals Scott, Gaines, and Jesup. The newspapers mention a convention to meet here on the 10th prox., to devise and recommend to the Legislature a scheme

of free schools, which the surplus expected from the Federal Treasury will enable the State to establish on a becoming scale. News from Cuba; difference between Governor-General Tacon and the Governor of St. Jago de Cuba, about the constitution of 1812; serious disturbances apprehended. Difficulty in choice of stage route; decide upon going to Brownsville, Pennsylvania, and thence to Pittsburg. 9 passengers in my stage, and 4 other stages all filled; 2 of them opposition; the rest belonging to one company. Not far N. W. of Frederick is the alms-house, a very handsome and extensive brick building; so palace-like outwardly that if its inward accommodations are corresponding it is enough to tempt people to be paupers. By very rapid driving (the drivers being of hostile lines) we got to Hagerstown, 27 miles, at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 P. M., in 4 hours from Frederick. Crossed several mountains on the way. 2 ladies on the rear seat, who spoke not a word; and 2 or 3 gentlemen on the front and middle seats, who were reasonably talkative. One of them shewed us 2 pretty squares of variegated marble, taken from an old heathen temple in Egypt, of exquisite polish, though probably 3 or 4000 years old.

At Hagerstown, stopt for the night at the large and crowded hotel of Mr. Stahl—doubly crowded, as, besides the host of stage passengers, a court is sitting in town, and the judges and lawyers are mostly in this house. The Court of Common Pleas—sometimes called the County Court, and sometimes Criminal Court—held by 3 judges, who hold such a court for each of 3 counties twice a year. There is no lower tribunal, save single justices; the higher are the Chancery Court and Court of Appeals. Wrote to Dr. Morris and Capt. William Liun; request answers at St. Louis and Peoria. Slept in a room (fireless) with 4 beds, all occupied.

Thursday, Dec. 1st. Ours being no mail coach, the driver let us sleep till nearly 5; set off at 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. To Clear Spring, only 12 miles, to breakfast. Crowded enough before; but here one Mr. Hook, weighing 200, and a Mr. Mann, above the middle size, were added. Moreover a thick new wheel, intended for a crippled coach 20 or 30 miles on our way, was placed on our top, to the serious detriment of the vehicle (thank Goodness!) and to our no small annoyance and apprehension; for its weight created the danger of its breaking in upon us through the top, and much increased the likelihood of an over-turn. The town of Hancock memorable for two things; 1st, there Mr. Hook left us; and 2d, there the State of Maryland is but 1 mile and a quarter wide between Virginia and Pennsylvania. The high, barren hills of Morgan County, Virginia, stretched for many miles in view on the opposite side of the Potomac. In Mr. Hook's stead came another passenger of less avoirdupois and more promising exterior; not looking

like one who drank, or made, or sold whiskey, all 3 of which traits were shadowed in the former gentleman's face and embodied in his history. The new comer proves a geologist, sensible and communicative, just the companion for this mountainous road, so full of geological incident. Another passenger is Mr. Neff, a plain farmer-like body, owning a coal mine near Cumberland, who has been to Harper's Ferry with a boat load. It is worth 10 cents a bushel at Cumberland: he got 30 at Harper's Ferry; boatage about 12 cents. Dined at Mr. Mann's, a member of the Maryland Legislature. He came with us from Hagerstown. He and Mr. Neff say elections are carried in Maryland by old-fashioned electioneering, — *treating* included. The dining-house is near the top of a mountain, a ridge of the Alleghany. The geologist walked on while the rest ate. The back seat in stage occupied by 2 ladies, neither of whom or the young gentleman who sat with and attended to them had yet spoken or been spoken to by one of us. At breakfast one only of them had sat down; she did so when the rest were nearly done, and no one seemed properly regardful of her; so Mr. Neff and I waited upon her with such eatables as were near us. At dinner we heard the young gentleman mention her to the landlord as his *servant*, and ask that she might sit at table soon, before all were done. She did so; and great was the falling off in the attentions we then shewed her. Our Virginia breeding no longer appeared (Mr. Neff was a Virginian). Overtook the geologist at top of mountain. He had much to say of the formations apparent on the wayside; knows William B., Henry, and Robert Rogers. Wonder who he can be; have seen him before, I'm sure. We crost to-day 3 or 4 considerable mountains, with ascents and descents long, but not steep; the turnpike winding along the side till it insinuates itself to the top and to the bottom, so as to make the slope very small. It borders often upon sublime precipices, overlooking deep ravines, and wide as well as deep vallies. In descending one mountain we saw the road 4 or 5 miles ahead running up another, like a mere line of white, — a path or furrow it might be, made by deer or by rains. Night, 11 miles E. of Cumberland. About dark ascended the last mentioned mountain. When near the top a solitary light, twinkling through the tree-boughs in the valley many hundred feet below us, on our left, shewed how high we had mounted. Presently the descent began. It was immensely rapid; the horses seemed straining at full speed. But no one said a word against it, trusting to the driver, though it was impossible to help feeling a little particular at the idea of thus flying along the edge of precipitous ravines, with sheets of ice under the coach wheels. Reached the town of Cumberland at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 9, Black's Tavern; no supper, I. 8 or 10 members of Congress on their way to Washington. They represent the roads westward as slippery and dangerous, especially Laurel Hill,

and the Ohio River as too full of ice to be navigated. With them Governor Kent of Maryland. Mr. Clay and Col. Richard M. Johnson (Tecumseh) passed here to-day. Fine coal fires. The mines here-about yield perhaps 150,000 bushels a year; few hands yet employed. Mr. Neff, whose pits furnish 45 or 50,000 bushels, employs but 3 hands. Millions could be obtained with ease. These mines have been wrought only 20 or 25 years. Those at Brownsville in Pennsylvania, on the Youghioghane, longer. It measures 28 bushels to the ton. The mines are all cut horizontally under the sides of hills. Before going to bed, I find the geologist is Mr. Forrest Shepherd of New Haven, whom I saw in Virginia last spring. His opinion as to origin of meteors and meteoric stones different from Professor Silliman's. His, they are either chemical formations in atmosphere, or combined fragments shot up from volcanoes and carried by currents of air co-operating with yet modifying the original projectile force, sometimes thousands of miles from their native mountain. Professor S.'s, they are fragments of broken planets which move in orbits round the earth, and occasionally throw off these so powerfully that they come within the sphere of the earth's attraction and fall on it. This (*si rite recorder*) is Brewster's notion in his note to 2d Ferguson's astronomy. *Mem.*, to look. To bed at 11, in a room with 6 others.

Friday, Dec. 2d. Off at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5. Up the famous Wills' Creek. Cumberland (then merely a fortress) is known as the last starting place of General Braddock on his fatal march to Fort Duquesne. His road stretched due N. W. over a mountain which *our* road this morning more judiciously leaves to the left and runs up W.'s Creek along the "Narrows," a pass between 2 mountains, allowing a channel for the creek. It was very cold; and having "caught a cold," with a cough that has irritated my lungs to right fearful soreness, I could only peep now and then through the coach window-glasses at the noble scenery of the Narrows, dimly towering and frowning in the starlight. This was so unsatisfactory that I soon wrapt myself up in cloak and blanket and fell asleep. Hardly waked entirely before reaching Frostburg, our breakfast place. Mr. Shepherd, instead of sleeping, had been eagerly watching the coal that "cropped out" on our roadside, and he had observed a great deal. He means to spend some days here, and in the neighborhood, to explore the coal and other mineral wealth of this region. Several rough fellows, like wagoners or stage-drivers, around the barroom fire. One of them was eloquent in praise of a Connecticut man who had taught a school in the village last year. He had carried his scholars forward wonderfully; had 50 of them. "I went to him myself," said the fellow, though he was 27 or 30 years old. A minute after he took a dram. It was red liquor, brandy, I judged; and the dram was a common tumbler half full, with about 2

tablespoonfuls of water added to it merely for appearance sake. The drinker did not reel under it in the least. Farewell to Mr. Shepherd. Our driver was a low, broad-shouldered, grotesque looking Dutchman, of some 28 or 30. He (with our leave first asked and had) helped into the stage a rosy-cheeked dumpling of a woman, much like himself, and the living incarnation of a Dutch burgomaster's daughters described in *Quentin Durward*. Cap on and a jacket (I forget the colour) laced behind outside, like those of the Bavarian girls in pictures. To some proffered civility of mine she made no answer, as if not understanding me, and she interchanged no word with any of us. At the end of the little Dutchman's stage he was remarkably assiduous, helping her out and leading her into the house, where the folks received her with eager kindness and manifest curiosity. While the horses were changing the host told me she was the driver's sister. He came hither 5 or 6 years ago; and having by steady industry and good conduct earned a decent property and a fair reputation he had written "home" for her. She had lately reached Baltimore by ship, whence he had caused her to be brought by wagon and stage to this her destined home. They are going to keep house together; and may they have all the happiness they deserve! Nothing could be more pleasing than the round, pin-cushion figure and queen-apple face of this German woman surmounted by her clean cap, or than her Dutch words most fluently jabbered to her brother, when we had been let into her history and destination. My other fellow-passengers begin to show themselves agreeably. The young man attending the ladies, hitherto confined to the backseat, had not once (any more than they) thrown in one word of conversation amongst us. Driven forward, however, by the entrance of the German woman he has talked much and right well. A student and graduate of Yale, native and resident of Mississippi, whither he is now wending; name, John Murdoch. Rev. Mr. Morris, a young Scotch Presbyterian clergyman, just come over. Raw and simple in some things, but well-read and one of the sharpest observers of men and passing scenes that I ever saw. Physiognomy so Irish that I set him down as unquestionably of Ireland till told *No* to-day, and so ill conformed to express mind I could have sworn he ought hardly to be allowed to travel without a guardian. It is enough to say that his lips commonly wanted 3 quarters of an inch of closing. To my infinite surprise he turns out to be what I have said, a fellow of extraordinary shrewdness. School books taught me that outward appearances are often deceitful; and a thousand instances, good and bad, have warned me to distrust physiognomy. But never before have I had such a warning as this; never before such a falsification of signs which seemed absolutely infallible.

"There is no art
To read the mind's construction in the face."

Mr. M. is a graduate of the Glasgow college. The Rev. Mr. Winchester of Philadelphia. He has been a distinguished debater in the Presbyterian General Assembly. He possesses qualities which I can well believe make him so; a good person, a most clear, musical voice, an articulation and utterance unusually distinct, a ready command of apt, neat (even elegant) and correct language, and a mind stored with various, though not profound knowledge, which (because it is *not* profound, — see Dugald Stewart) he brings with admirable ease to minister to all his occasions. It is a *light* artillery, which for that reason he can bring at once to bear upon whatever point his intellectual forces are engaged with. He has to-day been extremely agreeable.

Reached Uniontown, Pennsylvania, at 9 P. M. My cold and cough worse. Only some hotwater tea with bread for my supper. Landlord (Mr. Seaton) very surly. The last hour or two of the drive were agonizing to me from a tight boot; more than a dandy's pains, though guiltless of a dandy's sin. My boots were of thick stiff cow-leather, intended to fend off the cold of Latitude 42°; but not fitting well (though too large for me) one of them gave me the keenest pain that I ever felt, — worse than tooth-ache or tooth-drawing. Our surly landlord could not be prevailed on to give me oil or any grease to soften the leather. His wife (wife-like) seemed anxious to make amends for his churlish humor by fourfold kindness.

Saturday, Dec. 3d. Started at 5½ A. M. Youghioghany River. Brownsville 12 miles west of Uniontown and on the Monongahela. Hopes of going from Brownsville by steamboat to Pittsburg, all dashed by seeing the river sheeted over with ice, on which boys were skating. Crost river on a fine bridge, covered. We have been travelling on the great National Road (alias the Cumberland Road) since we left Cumberland. It is a fine McAdamized turnpike. To-day's portion especially good; so is the land it runs through, waving in elevated ridges, but laid off into fertile, well enclosed and well improved farms. Much pleasant talk from Mr. Winchester. The Persian astrologer (a Frenchman, Mons. —). He performed this trick: one of the company was asked to write some thought or wish on a bit of paper. He did so. The conjuror then handed the paper to Mr. Winchester, who with his own hand held it in the blaze of a candle till it was burnt to ashes which he then with his breath scattered into the air. The conjuror blew out the candle, stripped the wick of the tallow for an inch or two below the blaze, and there, wrapt around the wick was found the identical paper with the same writing upon it. The conjuror had not read the paper, or seen, or been told, its contents. He told the audience that this trick was a leading one by which the Hindu Bramins deceive their votaries. No one could tell how it was done. That conjuror, however, is inferior to Mons. Adrien. He once bought 3 oranges

of a man in the street of Philadelphia, and opening one with knife apparently pulled out a 10 dollar bank-note from it. The seller stared. Adrien asked where his oranges grew, — "I should like to get some of the stock," said he. "But let us see if the others have anything in them." He opened another, and pulled out a 20 dollar note. "Here," said he to the orange-man; "I'll buy all your oranges; what will you take for them?" The fellow protested he would not sell another; tumbled them all into his basket, took it up, and ran off home. A.'s trick upon the barber also. Mr. Winchester told an amusing story of Alexander Hamilton and a sleight-of-hand man. It was a show-night, and H. sat in front near the showman. His gaze was so eager and piercing that the fellow was disconcerted for fear his tricks should be fathomed; so he went to H. (whom he did not know), and said, "Sir, I want to deceive you." "I know it, and you may if you can. It is your business; and it is mine to find out your method, if I can." "Here," said the conjuror, "take this half-dollar, and be sure to hold it fast. Take care that it does not escape from your hand." H. clenched it tight during the whole performance; every moment opening his fingers cautiously to see if he had it safe. The juggler went through all his feats, and going to H. asked him if he was *sure* that he had the coin. "Yes," said H., shewing it. "Here it is." "Yes, there it is, sure enough. And now, Sir, I *have* deceived you; for by giving you that money to look at and think of, I have diverted your attention from what I was doing, so that you have not made the discoveries I feared." H. laughed heartily, and owned himself *fairly* cheated.

Millville, Hillsborough, Washington, — all in Pennsylvania. The last is a flourishing village of 1500 or 2000 inhabitants. Here I intended to take another stage for Pittsburg; but the severe weather making it likely that travelling in Michigan and on the lakes is impracticable I conclude to go first to Illinois *via* Wheeling. At Wheeling take stage due west, or steamboat down the Ohio, as circumstances may render wisest. Thriving college at Washington. Mr. Morris, getting out to walk some miles, fell in with a student going to it, a lad of 17 or 18, who detailed to him his plans of study and of life very *naïvement* and amusingly. It was night when we came within 18 miles of Wheeling, and our two last stages were mostly in the dark; many steep hills to climb and descend. My cold and cough worse and worse. No breakfast this morning save one cup of hotwater tea and a little bread crumbed into it; no dinner; no supper. High fever. As the stage rumbled on, I slept; but it was a feverish, unrefreshing, dreamy sleep. How fantastic the images that crowd each other through a feverish brain! and what a heightener of their wildness is the jolting of a stage! Before one set could be dwelt upon for an instant an abrupt

heave or lurch would dissipate them, and introduce another set, like the figures in a kaleidoscope, appearing, vanishing, and changing at the slightest motion of the instrument. Reached Wheeling at 10. Hot water sweetened, with a counter-twang of vinegar in it, was all my supper. Another feverish sleep, disturbed by other fantastic dreams.

Sunday, Dec. 4th. Rose not till 10½. No breakfast, or desire for any. At 12½ walk out; people going home from the churches. Took a turn through several streets, so as to gain an idea of the situation and shape of the town. At dinner, some soup and vile pudding. No appetite. Afternoon wrote 2 letters, and read 2 plays,—Congreve's "Love for Love" and Dr. Hoadley's "Suspicious Husband." Read the latter once before, when a boy. Read also, before bed-time, vol. i. of the "Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club," by "Boz," alias Charles Dickens. There is no denying either the broad humour or the truth to nature with which he delineates common life, and especially cockney life. But it is a sort of travesty of some of the nobler feelings of humanity, which tends much more to *grovel* than to elevate the mind. As tourists the Pickwickians are made ridiculous by the triviality of the objects they contemplate, registering the veriest trifles with as much serious parade as would be meet for the incidents of a Back's or Parry's journey. Perhaps a part of my displeasure at the travesty arises from a resemblance which is hardly to be disguised between the worthy, pragmatic Pickwickians and a certain tourist to whom I myself am greatly attached.

Monday, Dec. 5th. Rose in time for second table at breakfast. Morning rainy and much warmer than yesterday; clear up; walk out; river almost free from ice, and what appears is all afloat. Ascended high hill, overlooking the town; a singular ridge between the Ohio River and Wheeling Creek; sharp at top like a house top. It is full of coal, which "crops out" in many places along the sides, and is dug with such ease that it costs here but 3 cents a bushel (bituminous). Steam engine for raising water into reservoir whence the city is supplied. Intelligent and obliging engineer. The engine burns 100 bushels of coal a day; cost 10 or 15,000\$. Whole water works \$80,000. The boiler consists of 4 cylinders lying parallel and horizontally, communicating together. After the steam is used in the piston *quant. suff.* of it is driven into a tube which conveys it into a cylinder where it meets and heats the water that fills the boiler, — heats it to the verge of boiling. Thence it passes by another tube into the boiler. The supply tube which brings down cold water from the city reservoir into the heater is only ¾ of an inch diameter. Dinner, soup only. The Court House close by; went in; monthly session of County Court. A case of attachment against an absconding debtor was under discussion. An old brazen lawyer *vs.* a young though not a very modest one. They

both laboured through speeches which reminded me so much of many of my own that I was sickened in spirit, and left the house *re infecta*. The younger lawyer's tortuosities and feeble repetitions were particularly distressing. Went with my fellow traveller and room-mate Murdoch to a glass factory, of which there are several, and saw all the processes from melting the lead, which seems to be the main ingredient, to the final blowing and trimming the vessel into shape, and giving it the last polish. Called at steamboat to see if an arrangement could be made to get us berths down the river to-morrow. Vain; they are all occupied. Got some flaxseed to make tea for my cough, and 'drank it at intervals till bed-time, with no sensible effect. Read Congreve's tragedy, "The Mourning Bride." It deviates from the common run of tragedies in making all the deaths fall upon the villains in the piece, while the reader's favorites come out prosperously. In Johnson's Life of Congreve I had vainly striven to find in the following passage a warrant for J.'s high praise that it contains *the most perfect image* in the whole compass of English poetry. It is said by A., the heroine, in a cathedral of Granada at midnight. She and her attendant thought they had heard sepulchral sounds, but soon deemed it fancy.

" — all is hush'd and still as death ; 'tis dreadful !
 How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
 Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads,
 To bear aloft its arch'd and ponderous roof,
 By its own weight made stedfast and immovable,
 Looking tranquillity ! It strikes an awe
 And terror on my aching sight. The tombs
 And monumental caves of Death look cold,
 And shoot a chillness to my trembling heart !
 Give me thy hand, and let me hear thy voice."

The play to my taste vindicates its reputation as one of the finest of English tragedies.

Tuesday, Dec. 6th. Rose and went to breakfast ; cold much better, but cough still troublesome, and lungs sore. Much ice floating down river, but several steamboats have passed up and down. Tried again to get berth in the Robert Emmet, which goes down to-day, — vain ; so went on board the Huntress, just from Pittsburg. Selected berths and marked our names over against them in the cabin register. Had then the melancholy satisfaction of learning from the passengers (a jolly and sociable set) who had come from Pittsburg, that great scarcity of provision existed, so that they had this morning eaten up every morsel that was set before them for breakfast. The captain, too, without skill or energy, and very weak-handed. A negro man was lost overboard this morning; went to dip up a bucket of water; gangway slippery with ice; fell; swam a little while; and 2 minutes before the yawl reached the spot, sunk, to rise no more. This happened just above

Wheeling, a few hours before we entered the boat. Our narrators seemed still shuddering with the shock they had suffered from the sight. Presently two of these gentlemen, with loud laughter and cheering rolled into the cabin a barrel of fine apples they had just bought, and bade all welcome to a share. We put off at 2. Dinner good and plentiful enough. Among the passengers is a practical and scientific ornithologist of Philadelphia, Mr. Doughty. He has traversed the United States, Canada, and Mexico in quest of specimens, and says he is skilful in preparing them, *i. e.* in skinning the birds and stuffing their skins. Spent some weeks, winter before last, in Illinois, and was often out in the prairies shooting "specimens" when the mercury was nearly down to zero. This sensibly encouraged me anent my anticipated exposure there in land-hunting. Another passenger seemed busy noting down things in a book. He is very rough looking for a *savant*; can it be a journal? if so, "gold to silver," that it is a match to that of Mr. Pickwick or of Will Marvel. A young Jew whom they call *Abraham* and a Kentucky grocer, both of whom are ill spoken of by their brethren, and a lively, jocose little Portuguese named *Medina* are other of the passengers. A game of whist was going on. My friend Murdoch proposed a rubber to me, and (*horresco referens*) we played, no bet however. Then read *Gil Blas* (in French) till bed-time. Our captain is a raw lad of 17 or 18, vulgar and uncourteous.

Wednesday, Dec. 7th. Idle all the early part of the morning. The Robert Emmet having passed us, and got stuck in the ice, we pulled her out by a large rope. Wrote 2 letters, and then found that we were hung in like manner. The R. E. returned our kindness in kind. A few minutes after we were surprised to see her stop. So did our boat, and to our dismay, as well as surprise, we found she meant to transfer all her passengers to us, and go no farther. Our captain was not to be dissuaded from taking them, though our meals were already stinted in the extreme, and our single wheel (for one was crippled and useless) was barely sufficient to carry the load we already had through the ice and over the sandbars. The transfer was made; crowd excessive; fire small, hardly any fuel, — passengers had to saw wood, bring it in, and make fire; $\frac{3}{4}$ could not get near it. This was 3 or 4 miles above Marietta. Reached M.; lay an hour or two at wharf. More passengers came aboard there, eager to embark as if they expected a pleasant voyage amid comforts and abundance. *Heu, nescia mens hominum fati, sortisque futurae.* Among the newcomers was Gen. Felix Houston, now of Texas, a dull, heavy, pugnacious-looking man, 5 feet 10, with broad shoulders, and arms that seem able to wield a bowie knife with tremendous effect, — one visible under his waistcoat. Murdoch not seeming to know who he was questioned him rather closely about Texian affairs and Gen. Sam. Houston. Whispered a

warning to M. that he was talking with S. H.'s brother or cousin. We soon ran aground upon a sandbar, and hung there all night. This was after passing Blennerhasset's Island and Parkersburg. Read a good deal to-day in Gil Blas.

Thursday, Dec. 8th. Breakfast, second table; the first being occupied by the ladies (12 or 15 on board), and those gentlemen who occupied the seats $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour before the bell rang. Short allowance, especially of bread; no cream or milk for tea and coffee. Disengaged from the sandbar; ran a little way; disengaged again, and ran 4 miles, — our whole day's journey! Stopt near shore because captain has heard that 6 or 8 miles below a barrier of ice closes the channel. Before the boat was moored he, with skates on, was out upon the ice with his waiters (boys) skating! Passengers all thronged to see him, and laughed bitterly. Wood exhausted once to-day; supply obtained on shore: passengers helping to throw it down the high bank. Dinner much scantier than breakfast. No supper; all ate some apples. (My seat was only at second table, dinner.) Read the first volume of *Life of Sir James McIntosh*, by his son, lent me by Murdoch. There are few books more interesting. His *Vindiciæ Gallicæ* (answer to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*) written at 26, compare it with his chastened views of liberty exhibited in his *Lectures on National Law*, nine or ten years after. The former full of that generous, uncompromising enthusiasm for equal rights and popular government which he who never felt is a dunce or a slave, or both; the latter manifesting those tempered and castigated hopes to which experience (and especially such experience as the French Revolution affords) will reduce any mind not incurably visionary. Extracts given from McI.'s journal of his studies while in India. He says, "one page of Pascal has all of Dr. Reid's system; and one sentence all of Dr. Beattie's book." That sentence, — "L'unique fort des Dogmatistes c'est, qu'en parlant de bonne foi, on ne peut douter des principes naturels. McI.'s criticism of Corinne " 'spreses my mind," as Capt. Guzzle says, " 'zactly." Mad. De S. formed no very good *plot* for her story; and its incidents are often overstrained and extravagant. But plot, incidents (including the sentimental speeches of hero and heroine), the story itself are mere secondary objects. The main one is to portray national character, manners, arts, antiquities, and literature. In doing this none can deny that she abounds in strokes, expressive, profound, original, and powerful. The reader is perpetually anxious to grave on his tablets the numberless striking remarks he sees, and can no more bear to read her than Tacitus, without pencil in hand. A good deal also of Gil Blas to-day. Still aground; wheel broken; hammering upon it all night. A hundred rumours flitted amongst us; a hundred sage counsels were offered; all in vain. The boat still hung aground. Sleep soundly.

Friday, Dec. 9th. Still aground. Rose after the sun, and fifteen or twenty minutes after the steward, or head waiter, had as usual walked round by the berths, ringing a bell with all his might. I should have spoken of the sleeping apparatus; mine an upper berth; a hair mattress to lie on; covering, a cotton counterpane, a sheet, and a narrow, short, thin blanket, besides my own great coats and green Mackinaw fortunately provided in Charlottesville. But for these appliances of my own I must have suffered much. News of the steamboat "Dayton," 11 miles below, stopt by the ice. At breakfast a seat at first table given me by a fellow passenger (Campbell) who came to me and insisted that I should occupy the one he had taken. This is the only time I have sat at the first table since Marietta. Ice close by where boat lay; go ashore; skating. The journal-writing passenger is Mr. Charles Stearns of Springfield, Massachusetts. Scraped acquaintance with him. Boat started, went 4 miles, and then stopped again; professedly on account of ice below. Read *Gil Blas*. Dinner, meagre. Talk with Mr. Stearns. Mr. Doughty read me passages from his journal in Illinois. Rain, welcome as affording hopes of melting the ice and raising the river; but it soon ceased. Weather warm. Fight between captain and one of his working hands. Cards till late at night, if not all night. They disturbed my sleep. I heard words indicative of higher betting. One game played was *Poker*. A passenger who had a barouche and pair on board (as well as a wife with two comely daughters) exclaimed, "I'll put up my best horse!" He was a considerable loser; but his horse was not staked.

Saturday, Dec. 10. Breakfast (second table for me) scanty and wretched, as usual. Start at 10 A. M.; proceed 20 miles, and then passing a narrow channel round the west side of Buffington's Island, ran aground for the rest of the day. The island is a mile long and six or eight hundred yards wide, belongs to a Mr. Williamson, and is very fertile. Captain set us ashore to lighten boat. Many efforts to get her loose; all in vain. We walked down the river bank one or two miles; called at a cabin, where I and others ate a rude but delicious dinner of fried pork, pumpkin, butter, buttermilk, and coarse corn bread. Mr. Doughty's lecture on birds. He numbers eleven varieties of woodpecker in the United States, and ten of hawks. The whip-poor-will, —, and night hawk, all distinct birds. The last is what we Virginians improperly call the *bat*. Return to boat. Other attempts to get her off, — vain. No cards this evening; either because it is Saturday or from the gloom of our situation, hung here, and nearly destitute of food; or because the excesses in cards last night made all the players ashamed and loath to return to them. Finished first volume of *Gil Blas*; no other with me.

Sunday, Dec. 11th. Still hung. Second table at breakfast. No

bread proper since yesterday morning. It is only buckwheat flour made into cakes, so vile that only hunger could make them be eaten. My share at this breakfast was but two, very small, — not half as much as a man in health ordinarily requires. No milk or cream yet for coffee and tea. Go ashore again, and walk down as yesterday; staid till after dinner-time; ate none. Saw boy row skiff over river, and up towards the steamboat. Hailed him and got him to take three of us on board. Chafferer for purchase of his skiff; asked \$8; I for giving it; but my two companions would not. We wanted it to row ourselves away from the boat down to Gallipolis, 54 miles; also two ladies, Mr. Murdoch's sisters, who came with us in stage from Frederick, Maryland, to Wheeling; and Dr. — wife. It was fortunate that we did not buy it. On reaching the Huntress Mr. Stearns told me that ten or twenty were agreeing to hire a man to carry them to G. in a flat boat, and asked my concurrence. Agreed, and set down my name on the list. Presently the man who was to carry us had his skiff alongside to take our trunks down to the lower point of the island, where the flat boat lay. After vainly seeking the captain to pay my passage, and get my trunk delivered, Mr. S. and I handed our own trunks (helping one another) into the skiff, also two or three others. It then put off, and had proceeded 200 yards when Captain Coonts appeared. Mr. Stearns tendered him a fair proportion of passage money, as he had before done to the clerk. Both refused it, claiming not only *more than half* the whole passage money to Louisville, but \$1 a day besides for the last three days for board. I tendered \$5 for my passage from Wheeling hither. It was in like manner rejected. To Mr. Stearns the captain was exceedingly abusive and menacing. Swore our baggage should not go; and when he found that it was a half a mile off his fury knew no bounds. He set his engine at work, and made such a splashing with his only remaining wheel that no skiff could come near to take us off, and we seemed in danger of separation from our trunks. Some of his people, however, either by chance or with design to aid us (for crew and passengers were all against our captain) ran up a *lighter* or large, wide flat boat, like a ferry boat, between us and the shore, forming an easy communication for us with the land. We stept ashore by this bridge, and after looking awhile at the captain, who shook his fist at Mr. S., and uttered some abuse which I could not hear, we walked on downwards after our baggage. It lay on the beach, near the wigwam hotel where we dined yesterday. Took dinner there again, about 4 P. M., a sumptuous one, indeed. True, no sugar in coffee and no butter; but there were venison, pork, pullets, hardly grown, stewed peaches, and excellent yellow-corn bread, made of meal finer than hominy. Hardly ever relished a meal more. Of the fifteen or twenty who promised or were expected

to join us in the flat boat voyage only two did so. We made four in all, — Mr. Stearns, Woodruff, Butterick, and I. W. was of Newark, New Jersey; S. and B. of Massachusetts. Being so few, concluded to go in a skiff or yawl, instead of the flat boat. Our boatman (engaged) was a stout, active, and saucy mulatto, either a slave or hired servant of Mr. Williamson, who owns Buffington's Island. In the midst of our discussion with "Jeff" (the mulatto) about the skiff or the flat a man came over the river in the very skiff which I and others had been chaffering for with the boy. We insisted on his hiring it to us to go to Gallipolis. No. Then only 2 or 4 miles down, to a place where we could get another, and send his back. No. Jeff and young Mr. Williamson (son of old Mr. Williamson) pressed him to lend or hire it to them. No. They offered him \$3 for it; \$4; \$5. No; he said he had given \$5 for it only a few days before. That was more than it was worth; but he was obliged to have it, because he was bound as a ferryman to keep a boat here, and this was his ferry boat. He could not possibly spare it on loan or for hire, or on any terms, unless we would buy it of him for \$7, which was the very least he would take. The English of all this was, "I see you are determined upon having a boat; mine is the only one you can get; and I can make you give what I please, even double the worth." We so interpreted him; and Mr. Stearns (our leader and spokesman) put \$7 into his hands, and the boat was ours. We turned it up on edge, to drain it of some water in the hold; then launched again, put in our trunks, two large bundles of straw given us by our log-hotel keeper, and entered ourselves. It was now dark, except what light the stars and a moon three days old afforded. Jeff took the oars, my companions sat in the stern, and I in the bow astride a trunk. We pushed off. Half an hour before we did so the Huntress hobbled by us. She had been snatched from the shoal, partly by a vigorous effort which the captain made in his fury at our escape (after having taken out nearly all his freight by means of lighters) and partly by a pull from the steamboat Patrick Henry, which just before our departure came rushing up the same channel, and stranded within thirty yards of the "Huntress." The two boats were commanded by brothers, both Captains Koontz. I cannot say "*clarum*" aut "*venerabile nomen gentibus*." The H. had deposited many tons of her freight a few rods below the spot whence our skiff ("The Independence") bore us; and as we glided out into the middle of the river we passed her, relading. — a work of several hours. Much floating ice, against the cakes of which we every moment struck; but they always crumbled at the stroke, only jarring us rather fearfully, heavy laden as we were, and frail as our quivering, creaking barque was. After going half a mile our oarsman warned us that the boat leaked; he heard the water trickling in and felt it wetting his

feet. He thought she would not keep afloat more than 3 miles unless the leak was stopt, or the water thrown out. There was a house 2 miles below, where we could get a bailing vessel and a light. So we pushed on, and effected a landing near the house he indicated ; pulled the skiff high and dry ; took out the trunks and the hay now wet ; turned her up to let out the water (which was 3 inches deep), and while my comrades went up to the house, Jeff and I staid to guard the baggage. He complained sorely of the cold ; talked of rheumatism, which had frequently beset him ; and dropped hints of his wish to quit us, taking only a moderate proportion of his stipulated pay for the service he had already done. The gentlemen returned in half an hour, with a lantern, two candles, some fresh hay, and a tin milk-pan to be used as a bailing-vessel. These they had obtained at two houses, near half a mile apart. They would not listen to Jeff's proposal of quitting the service, though I was desirous, and Mr. Stearns willing, to save the \$8 we were to give him for going to Gallipolis, and row ourselves. But the other two could not row, and had found Jeff too useful to be spared. They flattered him by exaggerating his smartness and manhood. " Ah, and," said Woodruff, " Jeff will find us cleverer fellows than he thinks for." In fine, Jeff acquiesced ; we re-laded and re-launched the " Independence," and my friends once more put out into the broad, icy Ohio. To warm my chilled feet I determined to walk along the shore to our stopping place for the night, 3 miles lower down (Williamson's wood-yard), where we were informed that we might lodge comfortably, be fed, and caulk our boat. It soon outwent me, so that I ceased to hear the oars and the calls they now and then made to me. Rough road, often hardly traceable by the dim light of stars and almost setting moon. After going 2 miles (as I thought) came to a log house. Barked at by dogs ; man said it was two miles to the wood-yard ; walked 2 miles further (supposed) ; another house, this surely was Mr. Williamson's. No ; it was a mile off. At length arrived there ; moon just setting. On a gate-post fronting the house was a lantern which I recognized as ours. Went in ; my friends had been there fifteen minutes. Said they had had a very pleasant passage down ; very little leaking, and ice not at all troublesome. Three of us went down, and hauled the boat " high and dry," leaving all our trunks in it. Mr. Williamson (as a man at the house where I called had notified me) was not " to home ; gone to a mill 9 miles off for meal." His " woman " (as their vernacular hath it) declined giving us breakfast in the morning, because bread-stuff was so scarce. Supper we did not want, except our rower, who had missed his dinner. He, being known to the lady of the house, was requested to stay closely in the room where we sat ; whether to promote our comfort by waiting upon us or to see that we stole nothing did not clearly appear. She directed him to a cupboard where he

might find a segment of pie to appease his appetite, which his row of 5 miles through a biting atmosphere had made something of the keenest. Mr. S. and I sat up till 10½. Jeff shewed us to our chamber. All four slept in one room, two in a bed; Mr. S. and I together. A straw bed on the floor, one sheet and scanty covering; but weariness made amends for all.

Monday, Dec. 12. Slept soundly till near 5, when the coughing and lumbering of a steamboat was heard going down the river. I was the only one except Jeff, who heard it; knew it to be not the Huntress from its having two wheels in motion, the H. having but one. Rose at 6, about daybreak; and having dressed and washed sent our *factotum* in to ask the hostess for our bill. He came back and said its amount would alarm us; it was six cents apiece. We paid him the quarter of a dollar which he deposited in the aforesaid cupboard by her direction. Then repaired to the beach. Trunks all safe, but covered over with a cake of frost, and our hay also. No caulking having been done (for we could get no means for it, in the absence of our landlady's husband), the leak began as soon as we re-launched. I, as before, on a trunk in the bow; my business to give notice of ice or snags. Mr. Woodruff near the oarsman to bail, which he did most industriously. Had gone 2 miles when the Huntress overtook and passed us. Great waving of handkerchiefs and hats to us from our friends on board; several of them inviting us to rejoin them. We made signs of dissent, and all agreed that we would not go on board for \$10 each, besides our passage. The rolling of the water, caused by her wheel in passing, tossed our barque rather fearfully, and would have upset it, had not our *Palinurus* kept her carefully across the ridges of water. Soon after came up with four sailors or boatmen, late hands of the Huntress who had parted from her on a quarrel with the captain, and put off in a skiff just an hour or two before us. They lodged last night 4 miles below us. A mutual hail and greeting ensued; and the two skiffs proceeded in company. It became my turn to relieve Mr. W. in bailing. Found it a cold and fatiguing service. By the almost incessant motion of one hand with the tin pail, all I could do was to keep the water from gaining upon us. In spite of me it was at least 1½ inch deep. Ice soon formed upon my gloves, and the only way to keep hands tolerably warm was to slap them one at a time across my breast, stage-driver fashion. The ice had increased during the night, so that we frequently struck upon large cakes of it, which our rower sitting with his face towards the stern did not see, and which the vigilance of our look-out-man could not always guard against. Passed the wreck of a large boat stranded upon a sandy island. Ran aground ourselves once, coming imperceptibly into a shallow, pebbly part of the stream. Pushed off into deeper water, however, without much difficulty. Having gone 8

miles we put ashore near a log house, where "Jeff" assured us we might expect a good breakfast. Shallow water, so that a landing was somewhat difficult. Were just about to haul up the boat, and I had just been commissioned to go and bespeak breakfast when the cry of "A steamboat!" was raised, and a gallant one, at 12 knots an hour, came rushing down, rounding the last turn of the river, within half a mile of us. Shoved off with all speed into the current, and made for a point 600 yards below, where some men on shore told us, and where only, the steamboat could stop for us. The four sailors also made all speed in the same direction. We hoisted handkerchiefs on umbrellas, in token of distress, and called out to the people on board to take us in. A crowd appeared on deck gazing at us, and motioning with their hands downwards, as if indicating that we would be waited for a little below. To our surprise, and somewhat to our dismay, the steamboat dashed on as if not noticing us; the crowd appearing to be passengers only. Suddenly, however, on reaching the exact point where we had been told she could stop for us, at the lower end of "Goose Island," as suddenly as if every drop of water had in a moment been drawn away and the river left dry, she halted. We—at least I—did not know till half an hour after that she had "grounded." I thought that she had benevolently stooped to take us up. Both skiffs ran under her starboard quarter, before the wheel; the four sailors first, we next. All clambered on board, with ready and even eager help from the firemen or other hands. Took up baggage; paid Jeff \$2 for the 13 miles he had come with us, to his entire content, offered him our skiff, which he refused, saying he would not row it back for it. The captain of the "General De Kalb" (our new steamboat) being unwilling to have any skiff but his own lashed astern the "Independence" was turned adrift, to "sink or swim" as the chances of wind and water might determine. We presently found the De K. fast aground, and so full of passengers that the captain had (justifiably I dare say) intended not to stop for us of the two skiffs. 230 souls on board. Entered the cabin, a superb one; berths protected by curtains projecting in a *bow* form, so as to make in front of each a space, screened from view, large enough to dress, &c. Curtains of blue and pink silk most tastefully arranged. Among the thirty or forty gentlemen in the cabin recognized several who had been in the Robert Emmett, and been prevented from coming into the Huntress by the exorbitant passage-money demanded of them, \$18 from near Marietta to Cincinnati. A breakfast, the best we had eaten for a week, was ready in five minutes, and had ample justice done it in the eating. Much curiosity shown by our new fellow-passengers to know the *whys* and the *hows* of our travels, and for a quarter of an hour, we were the Gullivers of the cabin fireside. The captain presently announced that we must land to lighten the boat. Six or eight yawl-loads of us, making

fifteen or twenty tons of human flesh, accordingly went ashore, and strolled adown it. Orders came to us to walk down to a woodyard 2 miles below, where the boat would overtake us. Spent from 10½ till 2½ in this exercise. Went into three or four houses where Messrs. Stearns and Woodruff diverted themselves and me talking with and quizzing the women. One gude wife of whom we bought some apples was seduced into some amusing details of her family concerns, number and ages of children, &c. I liked her honest and unsuspecting praises of one absent daughter who was "the smartest sort of a gal," had kept at the head of all her classes at school, so that when she "turned down" the head scholar, (as she was sure to do) the teacher was wout to say they might all bid good bye to the head then, as she was certain to keep it. She had gone as far in learning as the schoolmasters hereabouts could carry her, and was now on the invitation of a cousin in Louisville spending the winter there, greatly to her mother's discontent. Only 14, "a great writer," yet had not written a letter home, though absent nearly a month. At school in Louisville.

Entered another more creditable-looking house, and ate a good dinner, furnished by an obliging, kind-spoken, tidy dame. In another house my companions mentioned the "smartest sort of a gal" whom we had heard of. The two ladies present instantly fell upon her and her mother, and would have demolished both by sneer and insinuation if the jealousy manifestly excited by the daughter's qualities (which my messmates faithfully enumerated as per list furnished) had not shewn itself so plainly as to neutralize the venom it engendered.

Some laughable horseplay of wit (the wagoner and boatman kind of wit) between two or three of our passengers, while waiting in the woodyard, and a horseman who appeared on the Virginia shore, bawling for a ferryboat. "The river might be forded." "Why did not he break through the ice and ride over?" "There was no ferryman but an old woman, and she was sick," &c., &c. At all this the horseman got very warm, and uttered the angriest and foulest abuse, which drew shouts of still more provoking laughter from his mockers. At length the boat came down, and we went aboard. In an hour or two overtook the Huntress. My three fellow adventurers mounted the top (the hurricane deck) and shouted and waved their handkerchiefs on canes, &c. as we passed; to which our friends replied by cheers, waving hats, &c. The Huntress captain, or some one in his interest, called out that we "had better come and pay our passage." Going twice as fast we soon passed. Point Pleasant; Gallipolis 4 miles lower. Lie by, 30 miles above Guyandotte, because the night was dark and channel dangerous. I spent the evening in reading Sparks' Life of Arnold, lent by Mr. Stearns, all but the last twenty or thirty pages. Mr. S. tells me some curious things of the birth and early life of Mr. Sparks. Born in the

eastern part of Connecticut, poor, a youth of scuffling. Slept on a mattress upon the cabin floor. Berths, table, and floor, all filled. I had aspired to a place upon the table, but was too late. Then to a certain position on the floor, not more than ten feet from the fire. Vain; forestalled. So was fain to lie near the door in the passway to the fire place, so that the waiters and others in going through the room had to step cautiously to avoid treading upon me.

Tuesday, Dec. 13. At daybreak the steward walked round the cabin, ringing the bell. Most of us, especially us who slept on the floor, rose at this. Boat got under way. Before breakfast finished the life of Arnold. Gouge on Banking; this cannot be read quite so fast. Every page requires an hour, to read, re-read, and think upon. Passed Guy-andotte. I am now where I was once before, viz., in August last. Again passed the Huntress, which, it seems, had slipt by us in the night. Our bread was out, so no dinner till we reached Portsmouth, Ohio (mouth of the Scioto), where a supply was obtained. This was 3 or 4 o'clock. Visited a barber on shore. President's message. Wonderful eagerness to read it or hear it manifested. There was no loud reader, however, disposed to "make it vocal" for the whole company. The solicitude about it is one small sign of that overshadowing magnitude which Presidential power and influence are fast acquiring in this country. There is less difference than is worth-boasting of between this hungering after the words which come even from the secretaries of our august chief (sanctioned only by his name) and the animated interest with which the crowd in Paris used to see the king at dinner: "*Ciel! le roi mange! vive le roi!*" At sunset a high wind, producing danger of a capsize, obliged our captain to lie to in a sheltered position. The bread being still scarce and dinner late we had no supper. Sounds of mirth came up from the kitchen and steerage below. W. and I and an exceedingly good-humoured frank fellow from Maine, Stanley by name, went down to see the fun. A negro was fiddling, and others were dancing. They stopt and the fiddler absconded on our coming, but they were soon rallied. We prevailed upon two of the black waiters to lead out two "sable fair ones," and they footed it merrily upon a raised hatchway of four or five feet square till both ladies and gentlemen were tired. A boy of 13 gave a jig in the true double-trouble style. The company above, hearing of our sport, caused the male performers to go up to the cabin. There on the table three negro lads went through a variety of steps and figures to the unspeakable diversion of especially the northerners present, who were unused to such a sight. One lad "clapped Juba" while another danced it, and the latter *jumped Jim Crow* to similar music, with boundless applause. The performers began with shoes off, but we soon made them pull off their socks too, and then they were far more active. Several reels (three handed)

were danced to the violin; all on the table. At the close a shower of bits and half-bits, nine-pences and four-pence-half-pennies, fell upon the table, for which a scramble among the dancers closed the evening's entertainment. To my couch at 9½; slept as last night soundly and pleasantly. The Huntress passed us in the night.

Wednesday, Dec. 14th. Off before day. Gouge on Banking till breakfast. Talk with Mr. — of Fairfield County, Connecticut. He owns an immense body (80,000 acres) of Western Virginia land, Harrison, Lewis, Wood, &c., partly on the Little Kanhawa. Intends getting New Englanders to settle on it to raise sheep. Good business. Tract also in the peninsula formed by Sandusky Bay, near Sandusky City, in sight of railroad from Toledo to Sandusky City. Played four games of draughts with Mr. Butterick; beaten with ease in all. Passed the Huntress again. Maysville, Kentucky; Ripley, Ohio. Letters home to Lanty, Lucy, Mary M. T., and my father. Several whist tables have been in constant play most of the day. The draughts-board also in use, both among ladies and gentlemen. No betting, however. Five or six keepers of journals are to be seen. Some of them have close-written books. If there are others, like me, not perceptible to the public eye in taking notes, the number is such as to hold out abundant prospect of "Pickwickian" edification. Stanley of Maine is so frank-mannered that I could have sworn till told otherwise that he was born and raised in a Southern State. Moreover this is his first journey southward.

Nearing Cincinnati, a testimonial honorary to the captain (—) was proposed and subscribed to unanimously by the passengers. It merely thanked him for his skilful management and gentlemanly conduct. Somebody then proposed twenty-five cents apiece to the steward. Great parade and strong appeals to all, and I believe every one present threw in but me. Reached Cincinnati about 7. Went to Pearl St. House, and took a room; fire, &c. Then went to an exhibition of the Hydro-Oxygen Microscope, of which in walking up I had seen the sign. It was half over; but enough was left to please, if not surprise. Room darkened. A sheet behind which lights were discernible was spread across room, between audience and exhibitor who was invisible. He announced each thing as it was presented to view on that sheet. Shadows only were presented. A drop of water magnified to a foot in extent teemed with monsters invisible to the naked eye. In three or four drops were a hideous animal called the — or water tiger, snatching and eating the animalcules which swam in shoals through the apparent sea around him. He seemed two and a half or three feet long. Near him was another, the Lapidula. They were peaceably disposed to each other. Animalcules shaped much like tadpoles, and from one to four inches long, all invisible to the unaided eye. The

water tiger would chase them furiously, and now and then seize one which he would soon devour. A piece of fine French cambric seemed a network of rope, the meshes five inches in diameter, and the rope three-quarters of an inch thick. The wing of a gnat, the foot of a house-fly, the biting apparatus of a honey-bee, a whole flea, a bedbug, &c., &c., were all presented. The magnifying power was 5,000,000 times. The instrument was not shewn to the company. When the show closed, I waited at the head of the stairs, and accosting the exhibitor when he appeared asked to see the microscope and its accompaniments. He readily consented, and took me into the apartment where it was. The tube, about two or three inches diameter and eight or ten long, was placed horizontally in a frame six or eight feet from the sheet on which the figures were exhibited to the company. A few inches from the end which was furthest from the sheet was a lamp of hydrogen and oxygen gas. To feed it was on each side a tin or sheet iron gasometer (the one of hydrogen, the other oxygen) from which the gases came in tubes that met near the lamp, played upon by a blow pipe. A little way in the microscope from the lamp were placed two lenses, then the object. Its shadow magnified by the lenses was cast by the light of the lamp upon the sheet. A good deal of the magnifying was due not to the lenses but to the light placed close to the object, and thus throwing a much enlarged shadow of it upon the sheet. And it may well be suspected that a great increase of the magnifying power which the showman once announced was produced merely by bringing the lamp and object nearer together. No mirror or reflection as in the solar microscope. Returned to lodgings. To bed at 12.

Thursday, Dec. 15th. Up at 7½; went to steamboat wharf. Huntress there. Went on board several boats. Breakfast. Newspapers; advertisement of Dr. Waldo, oculist; certificates that glass eyes put in by him had not been, till after minutes close inspection, distinguishable from the natural eye. Messrs. Key and Weems of Maryland and several other gentlemen mentioned the "Commerce" steamboat as a good one in which they were going to Louisville. Sent baggage on board her. Book stores, to inquire for a book on the steam engine, — none but Lardner's enlarged by Renwick. Entirely too long and too little popular in its character. In the "Commerce" met with one or two of my Huntress fellow-sufferers. Stept into the "Ben Franklin" (a still more superb boat) in which most of them were going down. Presently some one announced that the Huntress captain (Koontz) had sued out process against us for passage money; and just then his clerk with a constable appeared at the entrance of the cabin. Messrs. Stearns, Woodruff, and I (the only defaulters) stepped up and declared our names. There was no warrant against me; I knew not why; but the other two were summoned to attend a magistrate forthwith to answer the captain's

claim for \$13. They went accompanied by a throng of their fellow passengers, at once to express sympathy and to testify to the circumstances in their favour. Each side employed a lawyer, and after a discussion of some two hours, his Worship, the Justice, gave judgment against the captain for all the costs, allowing him only to receive the \$8 which my friends had tendered, and which they were still ready to pay. Three other passengers, of whom he had extorted an excessive sum, warranted him for the excess and recovered it; the justice saying that if they had claimed more he would have adjudged it to them. These particulars of the law-suits I learned at Louisville.

Returned to the Commerce, and she started about 12. Our Huntress and skiff adventure was the theme of much curiosity and conversation with the passengers, and our now captain came to hear from me the particulars of the whole affair. Of all the incidents none seemed to excite more indignation, blended, however, with amusement for its absurdity, than the demand of \$1 a day extra for board; when for nearly two days there had been no bread except thin and miserable buckwheat cakes, and so of other eatables. The claim was a mockery, at once provoking and laughable. Passed Lawrenceburg, Vevay, Madison. Overtaken by the Ben Franklin which had come without my friends, they being detained by their lawsuits. Our meals, berths, and accommodations generally in the Commerce are in a style of superior comfort and elegance. Read the President's message; like it, and go with the writer or writers (for it seems the work of several hands, among which General J.'s cannot be numbered), in most of his or their views. Gouge on Banking has evidently been studied by him who wrote the part relating to Banks and currency; and radical, if not visionary and chimerical as much of that part would seem to what are called practical, business men, it appears to me sound, rational, practicable. I allude particularly to the banishment of bank notes under the denomination of 20 or even 50 \$, and the substitution of gold and silver. Nay, even the total disuse of paper money is to me no chimera. Specie and bills of exchange are obvious and preferable substitutes. Wrote to Patton. Finished Gouge on Banking, and began his History of Banking in the United States. Read last winter and abridged a review and abridgment of it in the Westminster Review. Sleep at 11.

Friday, Dec. 16th. At daybreak found we had lain by most of the night, so that instead of being at Louisville, as we had been made to expect, we were 30 miles above it; two inches of snow, and still falling. It presently turned to rain. Jeffersonville, Indiana, just above Louisville, a flourishing town of 150 or 200 houses. As we neared the wharf at Louisville our boat struck violently on a rock at bottom, then tilted successively on both sides, and at each tilt dipped up a good deal of water, her gunwales going under. Captain not aware of any seri-

ous injury fixed 2 P. M. as the certain hour of departure. I go with him 265 miles further to Shawneetown, Illinois. Entered an extensive store over which was the name of G. Garland, thinking there to learn the whereabouts of my friends Edward Garland and others. Succeeded; G. G. from the northern neck of Virginia. Entered bookstore, large assortment. Bought umbrella, for it was raining. Went to Dr. Cochran's and found my friends, Mrs. Winston, Mrs. Cochran, Edward G., &c. Joyful meeting. Committed to E. \$5 to tender to Captain K. for the third time, with a note recapitulating the reason why I should pay him no more. My friends here think I ought to pay him nothing. J. O. C., having walked to wharf, returned with news that the Commerce was sinking, a large hole having been made in her bottom by the strike on entering the basin. They were unlading her with all speed. Went in a hack to Portland 2 miles below to overtake the Vicksburg, which was said to have just passed through the canal. 'T was too late. When we (Mr. Cochran accompanied me) arrived she had been gone two or three hours. Canal, 2 miles long; 2 locks; fall, 27 feet; depth from 2½ to 6 or 8 feet, fluctuating with the river, whence alone it is fed. Width of lock, 50 feet. Boats are from 48 to 60 feet wide. Some pass which are only an inch or even half an inch narrower than the lock, so as frequently to rub hard in transit. Some are ten or twelve feet too wide to pass at all, and have to lie below, sending up and bringing down their freight by lighters. The toll for passing up and down is sixty-six cents per ton, and as some boats are of 700 tons they pay \$462. Canal cost 980 odd thousand dollars; ¼ of it belong to the United States; the rest to individual stockholders. Drove back to the city; 25,000 inhabitants; 60 lawyers; coal 25 cents a bushel (bituminous); eggs 37½ cents a dozen; butter 37½ cents a pound. With us in the hack were two men, one of them a pilot through the falls, the most absurdly and offensively frequent swearer I ever met with. Protests that the canal has deprived him of many hundreds a year. He used to have \$100 for guiding one through the falls, up and down. Mr. C. took me into the steamboat Henry Clay. Surpassed all that I have before seen of splendor and commodiousness in steamboats. No berths in cabin; all staterooms. Nothing on the Hudson or Long Island Sound can compare with it. The North America is said to be still more magnificent; the Homer yet superior; and the Persian to surpass all others. The N. A. and Homer are lying here. Went to Galt House, a new and elegant hotel, almost vying with the Tremont of Boston. Walked over it, and from its top had as good a view of Louisville as the cloudy sky would allow. There is great dearth of handsome buildings. The City Hospital, south from the Galt House, is the only other one that strikes the eye. Four banks, mothers or branches; streets run parallel to river, and at right angles to those.

The former have arbitrary names, (1) Water Street, (2) Main, (3) Market, &c. The latter are numbered, beginning just above the Galt House with 1st Street; just below is 2d Street; then 3d or Pearl Street, &c. Some above 1st have arbitrary names, Clay, Adams, &c.

They had waited dinner an hour for us at Dr. C.'s; we had dined in the Commerce. Supped at Dr. C.'s, and sat till 9. He is communicative and experienced, moderately intelligent; knows much of the courts of Kentucky, history, and great men. Says the greatest (meaning the most strong-minded) that she has produced was Jesse Bledsoe, once a Judge. Intemperate drinking ruined him; learned and eloquent. Argued causes when drunk, and with overwhelming ability. As judge was often drunk upon the bench. Left Kentucky at last, and settled as lawyer at —, Mississippi, wherefor a while he gave tokens of entire reformation. But he began to touch and taste again. Then his relapse was speedy. He fell from a high stand and lucrative practice into contempt and poverty, and at length crossed over to Louisiana where at Natchitoches, last spring or summer, he died. Dr. C. knew Barry intimately. He was eloquent, especially in a stump speech, but too tempestuous. A leading partisan of the Relief system, and a Judge of the famous New Court. As we sat a carriage was heard at the door, and then a knock. A gentleman entered, who told Dr. C. that in looking over the register of guests at the Galt House he had seen the name of Mr. M. of Virginia, and learning that he was here had taken a hack and come to see him. Not doubting that it was an officer, with a warrant in behalf of the Huntress captain (for I expected it here), I stepped up and announced myself. Instead of being an officer the gentleman said that he was an early acquaintance of mine, and had often seen me at his grandfather's (old Mr. Morton's), when we were children, and he had come to see me for "auld lang syne," though his place was taken in the stage by which he was to proceed that night to his home, near Frankfort. Name, William Robinson. I soon recollected him, as the son of wellnigh my earliest instructor, Martin R., a good Scotchman, whose teaching of 26 years ago I still remember with pleasure and gratitude. The twenty-five minutes which my old acquaintance could stay were spent in a crowd of inquiries after our common friends; and he then took his leave, with a cordial invitation to me to visit him. Such an instance of kind remembrance in one whom I knew very slightly, and had not seen since my eleventh year (1813) was of course very gratifying, and Dr. C. said it was "extra-or-di-nary," — such, added he, "as only a Kentuckian would practise." Walked or rather waded to my lodging at the Galt House at 9, despite the almost forcible opposition of Dr. C. and his house. A bed had been made ready for me before night, &c., &c. Shewn to a warm room in the fourth story. To bed at 12.

Saturday, Dec. 17. Up at 8. To wharf. Huntress there. Dr. C.'s, by appointment, to breakfast. Walk; water in streets all turned to ice; and very cold. The morning papers state a rumour that to succeed Mr. Clay (who declines a re-election to the United States Senate) a Mr. John L. Helm has been chosen by the Kentucky Legislature, a man whom Dr. C., Jr., never heard of and Dr. C., Sr., is not sure that he knows anything about, though he thinks the name is not unfamiliar. It cannot be. Mr. C. bore my money to Captain Koontz, and returned with a refusal of it, the Captain saying that "Mr. M. was a d——d mean man, who had left the boat without paying his passage." He would accept nothing less than \$8, and I might keep my money. Agreed. Chief lawyers of Louisville, Mr. Guthrie and Mr. Rowan. A Chancery Court for the city is held by Bibb, Chancellor; the only separate one in the State. Saw several of my Huntress fellow passengers at the Galt House. To Dr. C.'s to dinner, having engaged to embark in the Moravian, which goes at 4 P. M. Dr. C.'s story of Mr. Briton, Episcopal clergyman of L., cured of cholera by calomel in doses of 3 ounces each, to the amount of between 3 and 4 pounds, administered by Dr. Cook, Clinical, &c., Professor in Transylvania University. Dr. C. doubts Mr. B.'s accuracy, but says calomel is dealt out in Western practice with a profusion that would astound Eastern practisers; *ex. gr.* 10 or 12 grains every two hours, for 24 or 36 or 48 hours, so that the patient would in two days have taken 200 grains or more.

Leave of friends. Saw and shook hands with Mr. James C. Campbell of Geneva, New York, to whose politeness I owed the only seat at the first table which I had in the Huntress. He is going to the S. W. in quest of fortune; thinks of going with General Houston to Texas. Went on board the "Havana," which was just starting downward; saw Mr. Murdoch and his sister, General H., and others; pressed and wished to join them, but trunk on Moravian, and name set down. M. not start tonight. Supper on board. Captain, gentlemanly and sensible. Tonnage calculated by multiplying keel, beam, and depth of hold, and dividing last product by 96. Captain says M. is of 800 tons, but as her keel is 153 feet, beam 32½, depth 8 (by his own account and rule of calculating), the tonnage is but 455+. Seven boilers cylindrical, horizontal, parallel; 24 feet long, 34 inches diameter, one flue to each of 14 inches diameter; some have 5 flues each, 2 of 12 inches at bottom and 3 of 8 inches on those. Top of uppermost flue should be about half way up boiler, and water over it, so as to leave about one third of boiler empty, for steam to be formed. Iron ¾ inch thick. When boat tilts so as to uncover flue it takes twenty or thirty feet to heat so as to cause explosion. Fifteen firemen in three watches of five each, 4 hours at a time. 18 to 21 cords of wood daily going down river; 24 to 26 going up; \$3 to \$3.50 a cord. Coal next year, from

mines down the river; better than wood. A Michiganiaan is aboard going to Texas, recruited by Colonel — of Louisville; his name, — Pardee; has a brother, — Pardee, on Grand River turnpike, 24 miles from Detroit, whom he says I must visit if I go thither. I would be pleased with his neighbor — Sherman. Tells me of a mill used in M. wrought by fall of 18 inches, works under water. Slept in steamboat, bed hard, and berth cold.

Sunday, Dec. 18th. Post Office, to put in letters written last night. Streets icy. Passengers began to come in. T. Bankhead, Ben. Winn, Nat. Wolfe. B. and Winn did not come to terms with captain. Wolfe stops here. Mr. William S. Archer and Mr. Barksdale, 6 ft. 1½ in. high and straight as a West Point cadet. Great crowd and bustle. Turkeys in coops; pork in barrels, and separate hams; passengers; and young Durham cattle, one intractable, pulled and driven on board with difficulty. Another missed the planks and swam round several steamboats in the river and through ice, but was saved and brought in unhurt; horses, &c., &c. Visit to barber's shop. Mr. Cochran came to get advice respecting administration in Virginia and proceeding to effect sale of infant's land. Gave it in writing. A gentleman going with goods on freight to New Orleans, pays for a barrel of pork weighing 300, \$1.25; keg of lard (60 lbs.) 20 cents; other goods 75 cents a cwt., and gets his own passage gratis. Dinner. Leave wharf and enter canal; several hours in passing it, many hard rubs and scrapes; it is now a little over 6 feet deep. We draw 6 feet water. Got through before bedtime; and I went to sleep while repairs were doing to the wheels broken in the passage, a thing of course. Borrowed and read a Richmond Whig of Dec. 9. Lieutenant Governor (Wyndham Robertson's) message. In Portland one of our passengers reports that he saw just now a young man (of 21) named Porter, 7½ feet high, spare and weak, very good-natured. Long conversation with Mr. Archer, who is in bad health. His proscription by the dominant party among his constituents for a generous assertion of his honest opinions (erroneous though some of them are), and still more his bad digestion embitter him transcendently against that party. Of General J. he speaks with pity, contempt, and animosity so mingled as to produce virulence unique in its kind and extravagant in its degree. "Delirious despot," "insane dotard," &c., are specimens of the epithets applied. Denies him talent, even the quality of knowing mankind well. Says his success is due to what the French call *caractere*, decision and energy. Audacity, moral and physical, is a leading ingredient. Mr. A. doubts of Mr. Jefferson. P. B. B., mind dialectical, prone to demonstrate the plainest propositions according to the forms of logic, like Hudibras. Contrast of Judge Marshall. Mr. Rives more statesmanlike in his mind, but not more sincere. Agreed that B. is entirely sincere in his opinions; perfectly

honest, but tremblingly afraid for his popularity. Mr. A. talks capitally; a stenographer might confidently put down every word he utters with the certainty of making sentence after sentence neat, correct, forcible, often elegant. To bed at 11.

Monday, Dec. 19th. A pleasant and warm night's rest. The steward had given me a second mattress and a third blanket. Found that we had gone but 20 miles during the night. Up before sun, at ringing steward's bell which effectually banishes sleep. Clean towels, a thing contrary to all my steamboat experience. Breakfast. Mr. Key and our Huntress adventures. Long conversation again with Mr. A. Dr. Channing on Slavery he was reading. Admires Dr. C., and forgives him his fanaticism because it is so sincere and comes from so pure and great a mind. Thinks Dr. C. only needs to live in a slave country to see at once that slavery is a necessary condition of human things, and that it is that form of existence in which the lowest labouring class is always happiest. Deems slavery a positive good, and exclaims with contempt and disgust against those dreaming bigots, those imbecile visionaries, who after the fervour of youth is past continue the folly of hoping for universal liberty, intelligence, and happiness. He would not respect a young man who had not those dreams; but he who cherishes them in mature age is to be condemned as unteachable by fact and experience. Mr. A. satisfied that popular government cannot last, that despotism, or at least monarchy, is the inevitable political lot of man. Mr. Jefferson again. Demagoguism and its influence. Suppose a demagogue (Benton for instance) were pitted against a General Washington in an electioneering contest. B. would say to the populace, — "Gentlemen, you are the pure fountain of all power. That sovereignty, which in other countries dwells in a sultan or an emperor, in this happy land pertains to you. Office, law, constitution, all depend upon your will; office is and ought to be given or taken away, laws and constitutions ordained or altered, at your sovereign pleasure. And you are as wise as you are powerful. 'Tis fit that you should be, what you are, the vicegerents of the Almighty. Your voice is his voice. The office I seek, if conferred upon me, shall be surrendered at your command, and administered while I hold it according to your wishes." General W. would say, — "Gentlemen, I differ widely from my competitor in much that he has said. You are, indeed, the fountain of power and the ultimate framers of laws and constitutions, but they cannot rightfully bend to your will, unless pursuant to the forms which are in them prescribed. Designed to guard you and your children against your own and their own caprices, they are binding upon you, unless you amend or change them constitutionally. Your voice is the voice of God, only when it is constitutionally uttered; and even then it merits that name too often, I fear, for its potency alone, — not for its wisdom. Your instructions when regularly given,

I shall ever obey, unless they violate the constitution, but I shall deem myself chosen (if you do choose me on this occasion) to watch over your *interests*, much more than servilely to consult all your *wishes*; and it is to the former far rather than to the latter that I shall direct my vigilance and my powers." "Can there be a doubt," says Mr. A., "that Colonel B. would carry nine out of ten of those votes against General W.?" John Randolph never chose a friend in his life from elevated motives. Made Benton his second against McDuffie from a grovelling one. Had no respect for B. Mr. A. was one of a very few who knew J. R. thoroughly. Avarice made him take the Russian embassy. It was his besetting vice. He pined to visit England, especially at free cost and in some high official capacity. He distinctly had permission from the executive to stay in London after a short residence at St. Petersburg. No question that the remembrance of his having yielded up his long and vaunted character for disinterestedness haunted him like a spectre.

Snack, or cold collation, furnished to passengers at 11½; crackers, cold bread, butter, cheese, tongue, dried beef, venison, bacon, ham, almonds, raisins, apples. Then dinner at ¼ before 3. 'T was too much. Evening, Captain Newcomb, late of United States army (a passenger) made up to me and asked if I was related to Mr. Minor (meaning Charles) late of the army. "Yes." He knew C. intimately, and of course esteemed him highly and liked him well. Wine party after dinner. Mr. Archer's apology for not asking me to join, badness of the wine. More of John Randolph. His unrivalled oratory. Mr. A. deemed him a great consulter of stage effect. His most admired speeches in the Virginia Convention shewed it. Mr. Secretary Cass, —deceitful, intriguing, covetous. Attorney-General Butler, — Mr. A. agrees with me in thinking so highly of him as even to consider his attachment to Van Buren a redeeming point in the latter's character. Met steamboats Mississippi and George Washington going upward. Bed at 10½.

Tuesday, Dec. 20th. Up at 7. Shaved in a dark corner, with some help from a mirror. Mr. A.'s wonder at the achievement. "You are a remarkable man, sir." Took care not to let him know that I was shaving with cold water, or that I could, and often did, shave without a glass. Breakfast, good, as usual. Conversation with a Kentucky farmer, on hemp, the Kentucky staple. Snack; dinner. After dinner Mr. A. came to me, and insisted on my sitting down to some wine (villainous wine) which he and some others were discussing. Joined them for their talk's sake, and sipped for apparent conformity. Conversation dull, flagged because most of its supporters were accustomed to rely upon wine to stimulate their powers, and this now failing them (by its vileness) their wings flagged of course.

The day rainy. Towards evening some snow, and a change of wind to N. W. It then grew suddenly cold. Passed Mt. Vernon, Indiana. A large distillery. Curious pump wrought by steam. A clever Louisiana engineer, whose awkward gait and dress had struck me for two days, and who had not before shewn anything of the talent within him, went ashore and reported a remarkably intelligible account of the pump's construction and *modus operandi*. A common forcing pump raised the water to its utmost height in a tube to a vertical cylinder, where two wheels, with broad-leafed cogs of cycloidal form and playing into each other, passed it on to a horizontal tube which conducted it where it was wanted for the distillery. Steep railway for lading and unlading boats. Many barrels whiskey taken aboard.

Much conversation with Mr. Archer again. Col. Richard M. Johnson the chief subject. Mr. Archer agrees with others whom I have heard say that Colonel J. is very like old Mr. W. P. of Powhatan, in person, the grade of his intellect, and the character of his good nature. It was wholly impossible that he could write the Sunday Mail reports which were published as made by him. A Doctor who lives in Colonel J.'s neighbourhood sat by during Mr. A.'s tirade of this evening, and seemed abundantly amused at it. He says there is no earthly doubt of the truth of the current stories touching Colonel J.'s domestic relations. The Doctor has practised in his family, and gave us many corroborative circumstances. We lost several hours at the distillery taking in the whiskey, and by various other stops. I and several others who intended to land at Shawneetown, wavered when we found that the N. W. wind was making the cold intense, and that it would be after midnight when we should arrive there, especially as the captain (willing, perhaps, to keep us longer on board) warned us that he could not bring his boat within a $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile of the shore, and that even the yawl could not land us nearer than $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile to the town, on the solitary beach. The alternative was to land under these adverse circumstances, or go on to the mouth of the Ohio, and there in a miserable inn await a steamboat passing up to St. Louis, whence we might reach the interior of Illinois. The latter plan was likely to be defeated by the formation of ice which would stop navigation in the Mississippi. We went to bed at 11 $\frac{1}{2}$, desiring to be waked at Shawaneetown, when we should land or not, as our feelings might then prompt.

Wednesday, Dec. 21st. Waked at 2, to be set ashore if we chose. Several determined to land. So did I; and then two others who had left it to me to decide for them. These were Thompson, a Massachusetts man (from Northampton), now of Tremont, Illinois, and Chapin from near Chicago. Six of us and our baggage were put into the yawl, and the second mate with two stout oarsmen appointed to carry us ashore, about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile. Wind at N. W., very keen and strong.

Boat deck, steps, gunwale, yawl, with its bottom and oars all full of ice. Immense sheets of ice too, partly fixed, partly floating, between us and the shore. Pushed off. Driven by wind slantingly upward, so as to get among the ice, which, indeed, at any rate could not have been altogether avoided. Great difficulty in breaking out of it into clear water, but by pushing against with poles, and plying the oars vigorously, we at length succeeded. Never before did I hear such swearing as from our mate. The pilot in the hack at Louisville was nothing to him. The men, too, swore, but theirs were mere "sarsenett oaths," mere skimmed milk, to his. It seemed to increase their energy, however, and after tugging for about fifteen minutes they landed us sure enough full half a mile from any house. Our trunks were placed on the strand some feet above the water, but below the high bank of the river, while we hurried in the direction shewn us as that of the town, to seek fire and shelter from the biting wind. Nearly the whole face of the ground seemed ice. At length reached a shabby-looking house, with a tavern sign hanging before its door. Entered the porch. Stamped, knocked, kicked, and called to those within, but all in vain for at least twenty-five minutes, when a young man opened a door and let us into a room where, close to a fire consisting of one nearly consumed log, lay a dirty-looking mulatto man. Roused him with difficulty, and bringing in some wood and chips which we found in a back yard, we soon made a good fire. The wood was thoroughly wet, too; and its [*cetera desunt*].

Mr. GEORGE B. CHASE then said : —

Mr. President, — At our last meeting, when Copley's portrait of Paul Revere at his bench was the subject of conversation, a remark was made which seemed to indicate a belief that the refusal by the present representatives of the Revere family of Mr. Goss's request for permission to photograph Copley's portrait for publication, as an illustration of his new Life of Paul Revere, might be due to motives of false shame.

I should not now recur to that conversation were I not sure from a recent talk I had with a member of that family that no such thought or motive has ever governed their action in refusing permission, as in the recent case of Mr. Goss's request, to allow a copy of that portrait for publication. For while Revere's descendants are properly proud of Copley's portrait of their most noted ancestor, they are governed by the wish of the late head of their family, as expressed before his death, which was, as the portrait of Paul Revere at his

bench had not been exhibited publicly, so it should not be hereafter, but that it should continue to hang, as it long has hung, upon the walls of one of the principal rooms of the family residence, where the members of the family, their friends and guests, might readily see it.

The motive which influenced the late Mr. Revere to this decision is both intelligible and respectable. He was a modest, retiring man. Publicity or distinction on account of his family, or the exhibition of anything relating to its history, was utterly distasteful to him; and so he left Copley's portrait of Paul Revere to his descendants, to be, as I have said, neither exhibited nor concealed.

The death of Rev. Dr. Eben Edwards Beardsley, a Corresponding Member, which occurred at New Haven, Connecticut, Dec. 21, 1891, was announced.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1892.

A STATED meeting was held on Thursday, the 11th instant, at three o'clock, P. M. ; the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting and the list of donors to the Library during the last month were read.

The President announced the death, on the 18th of January, of Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of London, who was elected a Corresponding Member in February, 1871.

Communications from the third section having been called for, Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said : —

I have a few words to say about a matter which our former President, Mr. Savage, described, in his *Genealogical Dictionary*, as “unimportant, but curious.” About ten pages of the first volume of that work are devoted to the enumeration of persons by the name of Adams among the early settlers of New England ; and in mentioning one Thomas Adams, about whom little is known, and who does not appear to have been related to any of the others, Mr. Savage alludes to what he styles the “ridiculous story” of his having been mistaken, at Stamford, Connecticut, in 1652, for no less a personage than his Majesty King Charles II., and in danger of being sent prisoner to England, but for the intervention of Sir Henry Moody and others who knew the exiled monarch by sight. Mr. Savage’s attention had been directed to this subject by our Corresponding Member Charles J. Hoadly, LL.D., now Vice-President of the Connecticut Historical Society, who, in editing the *New Haven Colonial Records*, had found in them contemporary mention of one Thomas Adams “marriner (as hee called himselfe) though in apparell and cariage hee acted a part as if hee had bine the King of Scots, or some greate prince (though not willing to be knowne) and by some was called King Tom,” and was affirmed by one Robert Bassett to be the fugitive King of England.¹

¹ See *New Haven Col. Rec.* vol. ii. p. 60, and *N. Y. Col. Doc.* vol. iii. p. 39.

We all know that after the battle of Worcester Charles II. had experience of some strange hiding-places; but it could not reasonably have occurred to him to cross the Atlantic and select a Puritan colony as a place of refuge, and we may feel a natural curiosity to know something more concerning the individual who seems to have been willing to impersonate him in Connecticut. Not long ago, in turning over some miscellaneous Winthrop papers which had been only partially examined, I stumbled on an isolated letter from this Thomas Adams, dated March 5, 1653-4, from a place the precise name of which I am not quite able to decipher, but which I think is Munades [Manhattan], and addressed to John Winthrop, Jr., then at Pequot. In it he explains that he had been intrusted by Sir Henry Moody with two books for Winthrop (books apparently of considerable value, as he was charged not to let them out of his own possession), and that, finding it impossible to deliver them in person as he had fully intended, he now forwarded them by one whom he believed to be a trusty messenger. The indorsement of this letter, in the unmistakable handwriting of John Winthrop, Jr., is simply "King Tom," thereby showing that two years after the occurrences at Stamford Adams was still familiarly known by this nickname. The name Thomas Adams certainly suggests an Englishman; but the handwriting of this letter is distinctly continental, and, I think, Dutch; while the style is that of a foreigner who spoke English with some freedom, yet not altogether intelligibly. So far as I am aware, this is the only letter of his in existence; and I conjecture from it that the writer was of English parentage but bred in Holland. Had he been merely a vulgar adventurer or a crank, it does not seem likely that he would have been selected by Sir Henry Moody to take charge of a parcel of rare books, as Moody was an influential person on Long Island, and the son of the well-known Deborah, Lady Moody, who once resided in Lynn. I think it more probable that Adams was an educated man, who, either as a joke or to enhance his consequence, availed himself of an accidental resemblance to mystify his associates. Mr. Savage assumes him to have been identical with the Thomas Adams who took the oath of fidelity at New Haven in 1657, and who ten years afterward married Rebecca, daughter of William Potter, of New Haven; but this does not

appear to be proved, and I shall be obliged if any member can throw additional light on the subject.

Mr. Winthrop then offered the following Resolution, which he accompanied with some explanation, and which was passed without debate : —

Whereas it is generally understood that the Council has recently had under consideration the subject of membership, and has adopted in principle the recommendations of a Report signed by three of its members, dealing at some length with the various classes of persons entitled to be represented in the Society and the best policy to be pursued in the selection of candidates ; and whereas this subject is one of peculiar interest to the Society at large, in view of the discussions which have sometimes arisen concerning the relative claims of different gentlemen whose names appeared in the Nomination-book : therefore

Resolved, That the Council be requested to submit to the Society at its next meeting any conclusions it may have arrived at upon abstract questions of membership, together with any Reports which may have been addressed to the Council upon the subject, so far as the same may properly be made part of our printed Proceedings.

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR communicated the following paper, and made a few extemporaneous remarks by way of introduction : —

The Results in Europe of Cartier's Explorations, 1542-1603.

The results of Cartier's explorations came slowly to the knowledge of contemporary cartographers. In the year of Cartier's return from his second voyage (1536), Alonso de Chaves, the official cosmographer of Spain, made a plot of the North American coast. Although the Spaniards were keeping close watch on the northern explorations of their rivals, it is apparent that Chaves had not heard of Cartier's movements. This map of Chaves is not preserved ; but there is a map by Gutierrez (1550), known to us, which is held to be based on Chaves. This Gutierrez map gives no trace of the French voyages ; nor does Oviedo, the Spanish historian, who wrote the next year (1537) with Chaves's map before him, give us

any ground for discrediting the map of Gutierrez as indicating the features of that by Chaves. The next year (1538), the rising young Flemish map-maker, Gerard Mercator, made his earliest map, which shows that no tidings of the Cartier voyages had yet reached the Low Countries. He did not even recognize the great Square Gulf, which had appeared in the Ptolemy of 1511, as premonitory of the Gulf which Cartier had circumnavigated, though three years later Mercator affords a faint suspicion of it in his gores of 1541.

We do not find any better information in the best of the contemporary cosmographers. Münster in Germany (1540) widened a little the passage which severed Newfoundland from the main, and so did the Italian Vopellio; but Ulpius, making the globe at Rome, in 1542, which is now owned by the New York Historical Society, seems not to have been even thus imperfectly informed. The French globe-maker, who not far from the same time made the sphere preserved at Nancy, knew only enough to make a group of islands beyond the Newfoundland banks.

We turn to something more intimately connected with Cartier's own work. It might go without saying that Cartier would plot his own tracks; but we have no written evidence that he did, other than a letter of his grand-nephew fifty years later, who says that he himself had inherited one such map. We must look to three or four maps, made within five years of Cartier's last voyage, and which have come down to us, to find how the last charts of Cartier affected cartographical knowledge in certain circles in France, and placed the geography of the St. Lawrence on a basis which was not improved for sixty years.

Those who have compared the early maps find the oldest cartographical record which we have of Cartier's first voyage (1534) in a document by Jean Rotz, dated eight years later, and preserved in the British Museum. Harrisie thinks that back of this Rotz map there is another, known as the Harleian mappemonde, which is deposited in the same collection. But the draft by Rotz is the better known of the two. Its designer is held to be a Frenchman, which may account for his acquaintance with Malouin sources. This "Booke of Idrography," as Rotz calls it, contains two maps which interest us. One shows the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the opening into the river,

which indicates an acquaintance with the extent of Cartier's first explorations (1534), and may well have been made some years before the date of the manuscript which contains it. If its outline is interpreted correctly, in making Anticosti a peninsula connecting with the southern shore of the St. Lawrence River, it is a further proof that a foggy distance prevented Cartier from suspecting that he was crossing the main channel of the St. Lawrence, when he sailed from Gaspé to the Anticosti shores. The other map may be nearer the date of the manuscript, for it carries the river much farther from the gulf, and indicates a knowledge of Cartier's second voyage.

Two years later (1544) there was the first sign in an engraved map of Cartier's success, — the now famous Cabot *mappemonde*, — and this was a year before any narrative of his second voyage was printed. As but a single copy is known of both map and narrative, it is possible that the publication was not welcome to the government, and the editions of the two were suppressed as far as could be. The solitary map was found in Germany, and is now in the great library at Paris. The sole copy of the "*Bref Récit*," published at Paris in 1545, is in the British Museum, among the books which Thomas Grenville collected.

To test this published narrative, scholars have had recourse to three manuscripts, preserved in the Paris Library; varying somewhat, and giving evidence that before the text was printed, it had circulated in hand-written copies, all made apparently by the same penman. It was probably from the printed text that both Hakluyt and Ramusio made their versions to be published at a later day.

The suppression, if there was such, of the Cabot map is more remarkable; for this Paris copy is the only one which has come down to us out of several editions — HARRISSE says four — in which it appeared. This multiplicity of issue is inferred from the description of copies varying, but it is not sure whether these changes indicate anything more than tentative conditions of the plates. That the map embodies some conception of the Cartier explorations is incontestable. It gives vaguely a shape to the gulf conformable to Cartier's track, and makes evident the course of the great tributary, as far as Cartier explored it. There are many signs in this part of the map, however, that Cartier's own plot could not have been used at

first hand, and the map in its confused nomenclature and antiquated geographical notions throughout indicates that the draft was made by a 'prentice hand. The profession of one of its legends — of late critically set forth from the study of them by Dr. Deane in our Proceedings (February, 1891) — that Sebastian Cabot was its author, is to be taken with much modification. The map is at least an indication that the results of Cartier's voyages had within a few years become in a certain sense public property. It happens that most of what we know respecting the genesis of the map is from English sources, or sources which point to England; but the map, it seems probable, was made in Flanders, and not in France, nor in Spain, the country with which Cabot's official standing connected him. It looks very much like a surreptitious publication, which, to avoid the scrutiny of the Spanish Hydrographical Office, had been made beyond their reach, while an anonymous publication of it protected the irresponsible maker or makers from official annoyance. This may account for its rarity, and perhaps for the incompleteness of its information.

Better information, mixed apparently with some knowledge derived from the Portuguese voyages, — and certainly chronicling Portuguese discoveries in other parts of the globe, — and so presenting some but not great differences, appears in another map of about the same date, known as the Nicholas Valard map. When Dr. Kohl brought it anew to the attention of scholars, it was in the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps in England; but there is reason to suppose that not far from the date of its making, it had been owned in Dieppe. The maker of it may have profited directly from French sources, particularly in the embellishment upon it, which seems to represent events in Roberval's experiences.

There is, likewise, another map of this period which is still more intimately connected with Cartier's movements; indeed, it can hardly have been made independently of material which he furnished. This is the one fashioned by the order of the king for the Dauphin's instruction, just before the latter succeeded his father as Henry II. A few years ago Mr. Major, of the British Museum, deciphered a legend upon it, which showed that it was the handiwork of Pierre Desceliers, a Dieppe map-maker then working at Arques. This fact, as well

as its official character, brings it close to the prime sources ; and the map may even identify these sources in the representations of Roberval and his men, as they are grouped on the banks of the St. Lawrence. I am informed by the present owner, the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, that an attempt at one time to efface the legend which discloses its authorship has obscured but has not destroyed the lettering. The map formerly belonged to Jomard, the geographer.

There are only the sketch maps of Allefonsce which can be traced nearer the explorers themselves than the maps already mentioned. What this pilot of Roberval drew on the spot we know not, but he attempted, in 1545, in a rude way to draw upon his experiences in a little treatise. This manuscript "Cosmographie," in which the coast-lines are washed in at the top of its sheets, is preserved in the National Library at Paris. Several modern writers have used them, and the sketches have been more than once copied. Bibliographers know better, however, a little chapbook, which ran through at least four editions in the interval before new interest in Canada was awakened by Champlain. It was first published in 1559 after the death of Allefonsce ; and his name, which appears in the title, "Les voyages aventureux du Capitaine Alfonse Saintongeois," was apparently made prominent to help the sale of the book, rather than to indicate the intimate connection of the redoubtable pilot with it. His manuscript "Cosmographie" had been prepared by himself for the royal eye, while this printed production, which was issued at Poitiers, was dressed up by others for the common herd, without close adherence to the manuscript. A popular local bard sets forth pretty much all we know of its hero in some preliminary verses. Like all chapbooks, the little volume has become rare ; and when a copy was sold in Dr. Court's collection (1885), it was claimed that only three copies had been sold in France in thirty years.

The most prolific map-maker of this period in Europe was Baptista Agnese of Venice. He had a deft hand, which made his *portolanos* merchantable. The dexterity of their drawing has perhaps enhanced their value enough to prevent careless use of them, so that they are not infrequent in Italian libraries, and will be found in almost all the large collections in Europe. One certainly has found its way to America, and is preserved in the Carter-Brown Library at Providence. Though Agnese

was making these maps for over a quarter of a century, beginning about the time of Cartier's activity, he never much varied from the conventional types which successively marked the stages of geographical knowledge. He has hardly a map which can be accounted a turning-point in American geography, and his drafts simply follow the prevailing notions.

Thus it was that for sixteen years after Cartier and Roberval had finished their work, the French public was made acquainted only with the "Bref Récit" and the scant narrative to which the popularity of Allefonsce's name had given a forced currency. The European scholar fared better than the provincial Frenchman; for the third volume of the "Raccolta" of Ramusio, which was devoted wholly to American discovery, had appeared in Venice in 1556. It is a chief source still to be consulted for the earliest explorations of the St. Lawrence region. It is here that we find an account of that "Gran Capitano," identified with the Dieppese navigator, Jean Parmentier, who visited the Baccalaos region in the early years of that century. Here, too, we derive a scant knowledge of Denys and Aubert, as already mentioned. But it is concerning the first voyage of Cartier that Ramusio helps us most. Where he got his records of that enterprise of 1534, it is not easy to conjecture, and what he says remained for a long while the sum of all that was known concerning it. That there were originally several manuscript texts of this narrative, varying enough in the copying to make differences that became distinguishable, appears to be certain; but it is not so easy to trace them distinctively in the various printed texts which have been published. The text in Ramusio was without doubt used by John Florio in making the early English translation (London, 1580), which is the source of most that has appeared in that language respecting the voyage. A Norman publisher at Rouen printed a French text, and it is not quite certain that he used Ramusio. It has been suspected that, in pretending to make a translation, this editor may possibly have used an official narrative, and that his pretence was intended to conceal a surreptitious use of a forbidden paper. When Tross reprinted this little book (Paris, 1865), he could find only one copy, and that was in the great Paris Library; but Harrissee later discovered a copy in the Ste. Genevieve Library. The fact that the book has nearly passed out of sight might indicate, as with the

"Bref Récit," that there was either a suppression of it or an inordinately hard use of it by readers. Two years after publishing this "*Discours du Voyage*" (1867), Tross surprised the critics by publishing a "*Relation originale*," as if it were Cartier's own narrative of this first voyage. The arguments of Michelant, the editor, in supporting this view of its authenticity are strong, but hardly conclusive. This precious manuscript was discovered in the Paris Library in 1867, having previously escaped notice.

In the year before the appearance of the American section of Ramusio, and probably two years after that Italian editor had gathered his material, the Spanish historian, Gomara, showed in his "*Historia General*" (Saragossa, 1555), that intelligence of Cartier's exploits had reached him in some confused form. Indeed, Gomara is rarely critical in what he offers. It will be remembered that Cartier had given the name of "Saint Laurents" to a small estuary in the gulf, and it has never been quite established when the same name gained currency as the appellation of the gulf itself, and of the great river of Canada. Nevertheless Gomara writes in 1555, or perhaps a year earlier, that "a great river called San Lorenzo, which some think an arm of the sea [*i. e.* leading to Cathay] has been sailed up for two hundred leagues, and is called by some the Strait of the Three Brothers."

We may consider that from the Rotz, Vallard, Cabot, and Desceliers maps, pretty nearly all the ground that Cartier's own maps could have disclosed is deducible by the careful student, and that a large part of our history of this obscure period is necessarily derived from such studies. Now, what was the effect of these cartographical records upon the maps of the St. Lawrence for the rest of that century?

This question brings us to consider nearly all the leading European cartographers of the sixteenth century, to whatever maritime peoples they belong. The most famous and learned of the German cosmographers, Sebastian Münster, contented himself with insularizing a region which he associated with the earlier Cortereal. Pedro Medina, the leading Spanish writer on seamanship, in his "*Arte de Navegar*," and in other books, for a score of years after this, used a map on which there was merely a conventional gulf and river. Baptista Agnese was

continuing to figure the coast about Newfoundland in absolute ignorance of the French discoveries of ten years before.

We are in 1546 first introduced to Giacomo Gastaldi, a Venetian map-maker of reputation throughout Italy. He gives us a map which was included in Lafreri's atlas. It looks like a distinct recognition of Cartier, in a long river which flows into a bay behind an island. This is the more remarkable because, when he was employed two years later to make the maps for the Venetian edition of Ptolemy (1548), he reverted to the old pre-Cartier notions of an archipelago and rudimentary rivers.

When Ramusio was gathering his American data at this time, he depended on an old friend, Frascastoro, to supply the illustrative maps. This gentleman, now in advanced years, was living on his estate near Verona, and in correspondence with geographical students throughout Europe. Oviedo had sent some navigator's charts to him from Spain, and Ramusio tells us that similar information had come to him from France relative to the discoveries in New France. These charts, placed by Frascastoro in Ramusio's hands, were by this editor committed to Gastaldi. The result was the general map of America which appears in the third volume of the "Raccolta." This map is singularly inexpressive for the Baccalaos region. Something more definite is revealed in another map, more confined in its range. A study of this last map makes one feel as if the rudimentary rivers of the Ptolemy map (1548) had suggested a network of rivers, stretching inland. It has one feature in the shoals about Sable Island so peculiar and so closely resembling that feature in Rotz's map, that Gastaldi must have worked with that map before him, or he must have used the sources of that map. With this exception there is absolutely nothing in the map showing any connection with the cartography of the Cartier-Roberval expedition. These features stand, in fact, for earlier notions, and are made to illustrate the narrative of the "Gran Capitano."

There is a Portuguese map by Johannes Freire, which must have been based on Cartier's second voyage, for it leaves undeveloped the west coast of Newfoundland, which Cartier followed in 1534. Another Portuguese map, which at one time was owned by Jomard, shows acquaintance with both the first and second

voyages of Cartier, as does the Portuguese atlas, with French leanings, which is preserved in the Archives of the Marine at Paris, and is ascribed to Guillaume le Testu. A popular map by Bellerio, used in various Antwerp publications of this period, utterly ignores the French discoveries.

The map of Homem in 1558 is an interesting one. It is in an atlas of this Portuguese hydrographer, preserved in the British Museum. It is strongly indicative of independent knowledge, but whence it came is not clear. He worked in Venice, a centre of such knowledge at this time; and Homem's map is a proof of the way in which nautical intelligence failed to establish itself in the Atlantic seaports, but rather found recognition for the benefit of later scholars in this Adriatic centre. It is in this map, for instance, that we get the earliest recognizable plotting of the Bay of Fundy. But with all his alertness, the material which Ramusio had already used respecting Cartier's first voyage seems to have escaped him, or perhaps Homem failed to understand that navigator's track where it revealed the inside coast of Newfoundland. What he found in any of the accounts of the Cartier voyages to warrant his making the north bank of the St. Lawrence an archipelago skirting the Arctic Sea, is hard to say; but Homem is not the only one who developed this notion. We have seen that Allefonsce believed that the Saguenay conducted to such a sea, and there are other features of that pilot's sketches which are consonant with such a view; while a network of straits and channels pervading this Canadian region is a feature of some engraved maps at a considerably later day. Homem living in Venice most probably was in consultation with Ramusio, and may have had access to the store of maps which Frascastoro submitted to Gastaldi. Indeed Ramusio intimates, in the introduction to his third volume, that this Canadian region may yet be found to be cut up into islands, and he says that the reports of Cartier had left this uncertainty in his mind. The stories which Cartier had heard of great waters lying beyond the points he had reached, had doubtless something to do with these fancies of the map-makers.

When the learned Italian Ruscelli printed his translation of Ptolemy at Venice (1561), he added his own maps, for he was a professional cartographer. He also apparently profited by Ramusio's introduction to the collection of Frascastoro; for the

map which he gave of "Tierra nueva" reverted to the same material of the pre-Cartier period which had been used by Gastaldi, showing that he either was ignorant of the claims of Cartier's discoveries or that he rejected them. Ruscelli clung to this belief pertinaciously, and never varied his map in successive editions for a dozen years; and during this interval Agnese (1564) and Porcacchi (1572) copied him.

We have two maps in 1566 in which the Cartier voyages are recognized, but in quite different ways. The map of Nicolas des Liens of Dieppe was acquired by the great library of Paris in 1857, and the visitor there to-day can see it under glass in the geographical department. It is very pronounced in the record of Cartier; for his name is displayed along the shore of a broad sound, which is made to do duty for the St. Lawrence. The other is the map of Zaltieri, with an inscription, in which the author claims to have received late information from the French. In this map the St. Lawrence is merely a long waving line, and the river is made to flow on each side of a large island into a bay studded with islands.

Three or four years later we come to the crowning work of Gerard Mercator in his great planisphere of 1569; and a year later to the atlas of the famous Flemish geographer who did so much to revolutionize cartography, — Abraham Ortelius. The great bay has now become, with Mercator, the Gulf of St. Lawrence (*Sinus Laurentii*); but the main river is left without a name, and is carried far west beyond Hochelaga (Montreal) to a water-shed, which separates the great interior valley of the Continent from the Pacific slope. Here was what no one had before attempted in interpretation of the vague stories which Cartier had heard from the Indians. Mercator makes what is apparently the Ottawa open a water-way, as Cartier could have fancied it, when he gazed from the summit of Mont Royale. This passage carried the imagination into the great country of the Saguenay, which the Indians told of, as bounding on a large body of fresh water. It seems easy to suppose that this was an interpretation of that route which in the next generation conducted many a Jesuit to the Georgian Bay, and so developed the upper lakes long before the shores of Lake Erie were comprehended. Not one of the earlier maps had divined this possible solution of Cartier's problem; and Mercator did it, so far as we can now see, with nothing to

aid him but a study of Cartier's narrative, or possibly of Cartier's maps or data copied from them. It was one of those feats of prescience through comparative studies which put that Flemish geographer at the head of his profession. By a similar insight he was the first to map out a great interior valley to the continent, separated from the Atlantic slope by a mountainous range that could well stand for the Alleghanies. Dr. Kohl suggests that Mercator might have surmised this eastern water-shed of the great interior valley, by studying the reports of De Soto in his passage to the Mississippi, during the very year when Cartier and Roberval were developing the great northern valley. There was yet no conception of the way in which these two great valleys so nearly touched at various points that the larger was eventually to be entered from the lesser.

Before Mercator's death (1594) he felt satisfied that the great mass of fresh water, to which the way by the Ottawa pointed, connected with the Arctic seas. This he made evident by his globe-map of 1587. Earlier, in 1570, he had conveniently hidden the uncertainty by partly covering the limits of such water by a vignette. Hakluyt in the same year (1587) thought it best to leave undefined the connections of such a fresh-water sea. The map-makers struggled for many years over this uncertain northern lake, which Mercator had been the first to suggest from Cartier's data. Ortelius also (1570, 1575, etc.) was induced to doubt the fresh character of this sea, and made it a mere gulf of the Arctic Ocean, stretched toward the south. In this he was followed by Popellinière (1582), Gallæus (1585), Münster (1595), Linschoten (1598), Botero (1603), and others. It is fair to observe, however, that Ortelius in one of his maps (1575) has shunned the conclusion, and Metellus (1600) was similarly cautious when he used the customary vignette to cover what was doubtful. There was at the same time no lack of believers in the fresh-water theory, as is apparent in the map of Judæis (1593), DeBry (1596), Wytfliet (1597), and Quadus (1600), not to name others. These theorizers, while they connected it with a salt northern sea, made current for a while the name of Lake Conibas, as applied to the fresh-water basin. This body of water seemed in still later maps after Hudson's time to shift its position, and was merged in the great bay discovered by

that navigator. It was not till a suggestion appeared in one of the maps of the Arnheim Ptolemy of 1597, made more emphatic by Molineaux in 1600, that this fitting interior sea was made to be the source of the St. Lawrence, while it was at the same time supposed to have some outlet in the Arctic Ocean. The great interior lakes were then foreshadowed in the "Lacke of Tadenac, the bounds whereof are unknown," as Molineaux's legend reads.

The English indeed had become active in this geographical quest very shortly after Mercator and Ortelius had well established their theories in the public mind. Sir Humphrey Gilbert had not indeed penetrated this region; but when he published his map in 1576 he had helped to popularize a belief in a multitudinous gathering of islands in what was now called the land of Canada. Frobisher's explorations were farther to the north, and his map (1578) professed that in these higher latitudes there was a way through the continent. Hakluyt, in his "Westerne Planting," tells us that the bruit of Frobisher's voyage had reached Ortelius, and had induced that geographer to come to England in 1577, "to pry and looke into the secretes of Frobisher's Voyage." Hakluyt further says that this "greate geographer" told him at this time "that if the warres of Flaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Countries had meant to have discovered those partes of America and the northweste strait before this tyme." Hakluyt had it much at heart to invigorate an English spirit of discovery, and the treatise just quoted was written for that purpose. "Yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge," he says, "the Frenche, the Normans, the Brytons or the Duche or some other nation will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Lawrence, where they have gotten the starte of us already, though we had the same revealed to us by bookes published and printed in Englishe before them." It is not easy to satisfy one's self as to what Hakluyt refers, when he implies that previous to Cartier's voyage there had been English books making reference to the St. Lawrence Gulf. Modern investigators have indeed in English books found only the scantiest mention of American explorations before Eden printed his translation of Münster in 1553, nearly twenty years after Cartier's first voyage. The late Dr. Charles Deane in commenting on Hakluyt's words could

give no satisfactory explanation of what seems to be their plain meaning.

The year before Hakluyt wrote this sentence he had given up an intention of joining in Gilbert's last expedition, and had gone to Paris (1583) as chaplain to Sir Edward Stafford. While in that city we find him busy with "diligent inquiries of such things as may yeeld any light unto our westernre discoverie," making to this end such investigations as he could respecting current and contemplated movements of the Spanish and French. In this same essay on "Westernre Planting" Hakluyt drew attention to what he understood Cartier to say of a river that can be followed for three months "southwarde from Hochelaga." Whether this refers to some Indian story of a way by Lake Champlain and the Hudson, or to the longer route from the Iroquois country to the Ohio and Mississippi, may be a question; if indeed it may not mean that the St. Lawrence itself bent towards the south and found its rise in a warmer clime, as the cartographers who were contemporaries of Hakluyt made it. Hakluyt further translates what Cartier makes Donnacona and other Indians say of these distant parts where the people are "clad with clothes as wee [the French] are, very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they had greate store of golde and redde copper; and that within the land beyonde the said firste ryver unto Hochelaga and Saguenay, ys an iland envyroned rounde aboute with that and other ryvers, and that there is a sea of freshe water founde, as they have hearde say of those of Saguenay, there was never man hearde of, that founde vnto the begynnyng and ende thereof." Here is the warrant that Mercator and his followers found for their sea of sweet water. Hakluyt adds: "In the Frenche originall, which I sawe in the Kinges library at Paris, yt is further put downe, that Donnacona, the Kinge of Canada, in his barke had traueled to that contrie where cynamon and cloves are had." Hakluyt, with the tendency of his age, could not help associating this prolonged passage with a new way to Cathay, and he cites in support "the judgmente of Gerardus Mercator, that excellent geographer, in a letter of his," which his son had shown to Hakluyt, saying, "There is no doubte but there is a streighte and shorte waye open unto the west, even to Cathaio." Hakluyt then

closes his list of reasons for believing in this ultimate passage by adding, in the words of Ramusio, that "if the Frenchmen in this their Nova Francia would have discovered upp farther into the lande towards the west northwest partes, they shoulde have founde the sea and have sailed to Cathaio."

Before Hakluyt published any map of his own, there were two English maps which became prominent. In 1580 Dr. John Dee presented to Queen Elizabeth a map which is preserved in the British Museum. It has nothing to distinguish it from the other maps of the time, which show a St. Lawrence River greatly prolonged. The second map was far more distinctive and more speculative. Ruscelli in 1561 and Martines in 1578 had represented the country south of the Lower St. Lawrence as an island, with a channel on the west of it, connecting the Atlantic with the great river of Canada. This view was embodied by Master Michael Lok in this other map, in union with other prevalent notions already mentioned, of a neighboring archipelago between the St. Lawrence and the Arctic waters. In this way Lok made the great river rather an ocean inlet than an affluent of the gulf. Hakluyt adopted this map in his little "Divers Voyages" (1582) to illustrate an account of the voyage of Verrazano, and curiously did so, because there is no trace of Verrazano in the map except the great western sea, which had long passed into oblivion with other cartographers.

When Hakluyt again came before the public in an edition of the eight decades of Peter Martyr's "De orbe novo," which he printed at Paris in 1587, he added a map bearing the initials "F. G." This map may be supposed to embody the conclusions which Hakluyt had reached after his years of collecting material. He had, as we have seen, already reviewed the field in his "Westerne Planting," where he had adopted the Mercator theory of the access by the Ottawa to the great fresh-water lake of the Indian tales.

Jacques Noël, a grand-nephew of Cartier, writing from St. Malo in 1587, refers to this F. G. map of Hakluyt, as putting down "the great lake" of Canada much too far to the north to be in accordance with one of Cartier's maps which he professed to have. This Noël had been in the country, and re-

ported the Indians as saying that the great lake was ten days above the rapids (near Montreal). He had been at the rapids, and reported them to be in 44° north latitude.

In 1590 Hakluyt was asking Ortelius, through a relative of the Antwerp geographer then living in London, to publish a map of the region north of Mexico and towards the Arctic seas. Ortelius signified his willingness to do so, if Hakluyt would furnish the data. In the same year the English geographer wrote to Ortelius at Antwerp, urging him, if he made a new map, to insert "the strait of the Three Brothers in its proper place, as there is still hope of discovering it some day, and we may by placing it in the map remove the error of those cosmographers who do not indicate it." It is apparent, by Hakluyt's accompanying drawing, that he considered the "*Fretum trium fratrum*" to be in latitude 70° north.

There was a temptation to the geographer to give a striking character to the reports or plots of returned navigators. Mercator compliments Ortelius on his soberness in using such plots, and complains that geographical truth is much corrupted by map-makers, and that those of Italy are specially bad.

The maps that succeeded, down to the time when Champlain made a new geography for the valley of the St. Lawrence, added little to the conceptions already mastered by the chief cartographers. The idea of the first explorers that America was but the eastern limits of Asia may be said to have vanished at the same time; for the map of Myritius of near this date (1587, 1590) is perhaps the last of the maps to hold to the belief.

While all this speculative geography was forming and disappearing with an obvious tendency to a true conception of the physical realities of the problem, there was scarcely any attempt made to help solve the question by exploration. There was indeed a continuance of the fishing voyages of the Normans and Bretons to the banks, and the fishermen ran into the inlets near the Gulf to dry their fish and barter trinkets with the natives for walrus tusks; but we find no record of any one turning the point of Gaspé and going up the river. There was at the same time no official patronage of exploration. The politics of France were far too unquiet. Henry II. had as much as he could do to maintain his struggles with Charles V.

and Philip II. St. Quentin and Gravelines carried French chivalry down to the dust. The persecution of the Protestants in the brief reign of Francis II., the machinations of Catharine de' Medici and the supremacy of the Guises kept attention too constantly upon domestic hazards to permit the government to glance across the sea. All efforts under Charles IX. to secure internal peace were but transient. Every interval of truce between the rival religions only gave opportunities for new conspiracies. The baleful night of St. Bartholomew saw thirty thousand Huguenots plunged into agony and death. The wars of the League which followed were but a prolonged combat for Huguenot existence. Henry III. during fifteen years of blood played fast and loose with both sides. Henry IV. fought at Arques and Ivry to preserve his crown, and abjured his faith in the end as a better policy to the same end. At last these tumultuous years yielded to the promulgation of the famous edict at Nantes (April 15, 1598), and in the rest which came later the times grew ripe for new enterprises beyond the sea.

We have seen that it was to the labors of Hakluyt and Ramusio during these sixty years that we owe a large part of the current knowledge of what were then the last official expeditions to Canada. That private enterprise did not cease to connect the French ports with the fishery and trade of the gulf and its neighboring ports is indeed certain, though Garneau speaks of this interval as that of a temporary abandonment of Canada. Gosselin and other later investigators have found entries made of numerous local outfits for voyages from Honfleur and other harbors. Such mariners never, however, so far as we know, contemplated the making of discoveries. Old fishermen are noted as having grown gray in forty years' service on the coast; and there is reason to believe that during some seasons as many as three or four hundred fishing-crafts may have dipped to their anchors hereabouts, and half of them French. Some of them added the pursuit of trade, and chased the walrus. Breton babies grew to know the cunning skill which in leisure hours was bestowed by these mariners on the ivory trifles which amused their households. Norman maidens were decked with the fur which their brothers had secured from the Esquimaux. Parkman found, in a letter of Menendez to Philip of Spain, that from as far south as the

Potomac Indian canoes crawled northward along the coast, till they found Frenchmen in the Newfoundland waters to buy their peltries. Bréard has of late, in his "*Marine Normande*," thrown considerable light upon these fishing and trading voyagers, but there is no evidence of their passing into the great river.

Once, indeed, it seemed as if the French monarch, who had occasionally sent an armed vessel to protect his subjects in this region against the English, Spanish, and Portuguese, awoke to the opportunities that were passing; and in 1577 he commissioned Troilus du Mesgonez, Marquis de la Roche, to lead a colony to Canada, and the project commanded the confidence of the merchants of Rouen, Caen, and Lisieux. Captain J. Carleill, writing in 1583, in his "*Entended Voyage to America*," tells us that the French were trying to overcome the distrust of the Indians, which the kidnapping exploits of Cartier had implanted. Whether any such fear of the native animosity stood in the way of La Roche's enterprise or not, is not evident; but certain it is, that he did not sail, and the king remained without a representative on the St. Lawrence. This sovereign gave, however, in 1588, in requital of claims made by the heirs of Cartier for his unrewarded services, a charter to two of that navigator's nephews, Etienne Charton and Jacques Noël, in which he assigned to them for twelve years the right to trade for furs and to work mines, with the privilege of a commercial company. The grant was made partly to enable the heirs to carry out Cartier's injunctions to his descendants not to abandon the country of Canada.

Such reserved privileges were a blow to the merchants of St. Malo, and they drew the attention of the Breton parliament to the monopoly in such a way that the king found it prudent to rescind the charter, except so far as to mine at Cap de Conjugon. No one knows where that cape was, or that any mining was done there. So a second royal project came to naught.

It would have been better if the first expedition that really got off had never started. A few years later La Roche, who had had much tribulation since his last luckless effort, was commissioned (Jan. 12, 1590) to lead once more a colony to the St. Lawrence. By this act that king revived the powers which Francis I. had conferred on Roberval. Chartering two

vessels and, in default of better colonists, filling them with convicts, La Roche sailed west and made Sable Island. Such portion of his company as he did not need while exploring for a site, he landed on this desert spot, not without raising the suspicion that he did not dare to land them on the mainland, for fear of their deserting him. While searching for a place to settle, heavy gales blew his exploring ships out to sea, and back to France. Those whom he had abandoned at Sable Island were not rescued till 1603, when twelve had died.

This is the last scene of that interval which we have been considering; but in the near future other spirits were to animate New France, in the persons of Pontgravé, Champlain, and their associates, and a new period of exploration was to begin.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then made the following remarks:

On Monday last I received from the widow of Dr. Buckminster Brown a carved wooden goblet, which was bequeathed by him to the Historical Society with the request that I should present it, "in person or by letter, with a written description of it"; and in accordance with his wishes it is now so given. She has furnished me with the following history and description, as drawn up for the most part by her late husband:—

Dr. Buckminster Brown's History of the Carved Wooden Goblet which he leaves to the Massachusetts Historical Society in his will, dated June 5, 1888.

In 1849 I attended Mr. and Mrs. Alexander Parker, English people recently arrived in an emigrant ship. They had typhus fever on board ship, and many of their goods and chattels had been thrown overboard. Mr. Parker was a basket-maker. I attended these people, from time to time, until 1854. They had a great deal of sickness, but could not pay any money for attendance. Mr. Parker's father was a gardener on one of the old estates in England, and the son had tried to earn a living by basket-making.

At various times, when making my visits, I noticed a beautifully shaped vase or goblet, covered with quaint carvings and an inscription. The inscription began on the upper outside rim of the goblet, and then continued on the upper part of the base, and thence ran around the under part of the base or bottom of the goblet. It runs thus:—

Accept my smale Gyfte and Good Will:
Desiring God to Blesse you still:
& send you many

[On the upper surface of the base]

Yeers of Joy.
By Walking in the Liuing Way:
God Grant so to all his Elect:
In whom

[On the lower surface]

His Word takes Good Effect:
Drinke so that You may euer Liue:
Such Drinke the Lord of Lyfe Doth Giue:
To those whom he redeemed Deare:
Who With Pure hearts his Word do heare.

[Date, in large figures, on face of goblet]

1620

There are also, on the face of the goblet, four curious figures, which, after consulting two or three persons who have made such matters a study, I have concluded are crests from the coats-of-arms of the lord and lady of the estate within whose domain was the chapel where this goblet was probably the Communion cup, — the inscription showing this cup was a gift to be used for sacred purposes.

It was without doubt a sacramental cup, a gift to a chapel. Probably it was made, designed, and inscribed as a gift from the land-owner to a chapel on his estate.

This goblet was afterwards given to Dr. Buckminster Brown by the survivor of these two old people, and is now, by his request, presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, through Dr. Samuel A. Green.

February, 1892.

Dr. Brown was a son of Dr. John Ball and Rebecca (Warren) Brown, and born in Boston, on July 13, 1819. He graduated at the Harvard Medical School in the Class of 1844, and died at Auburndale, on December 24, 1891.

Mrs. Brown has supplemented the bequest by a gift of some interesting manuscripts connected with the Warren family and relating to the Revolutionary period, and of a little book, entitled "Stories about General Warren," by a Lady of Boston [Mrs. Rebecca (Warren) Brown].

Since the last meeting I have also received from the widow of Col. William Warland Clapp the original subscription pa-

per to the dinner in commemoration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of Boston, which was shown in these rooms at the last February meeting, and subsequently printed in the Proceedings. After Colonel Clapp's lamented death on December 8, 1891, the paper was found among his effects in an envelope, marked: "Quite valuable. I enclose this for the Mass. Historical Society, to be given through Dr. S. A. Green"; and, in compliance with this request, it is now so presented.

It is a gratifying fact to know that persons outside of the membership look upon the Society as a safe depository for relics and manuscripts of an historical character; and it is a coincidence that within a few days it should have fallen to my lot in this way to carry out the last wishes of two old friends.

Mr. GAMALIEL BRADFORD read some extracts from Fiske's "Critical Period of American History," and then spoke briefly of the condition of the country at the close of the War of the Revolution as contrasted with its condition at the close of the Rebellion and at the present time.

Mr. JAMES M. BUGBEE communicated the memoir of the late Hon. Samuel C. Cobb, which he had been appointed to prepare for the Proceedings.

During the meeting remarks of a conversational character were made by the PRESIDENT, Mr. CHARLES F. ADAMS, Rev. Dr. EDMUND F. SLAFTER, Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, Mr. EDWARD J. LOWELL, and Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN.

MEMOIR
OF
HON. SAMUEL CROCKER COBB.

BY JAMES M. BUGBEE.

SAMUEL CROCKER COBB was a descendant in the fifth generation from Austin (or Augustine) Cobb, who first appears as a resident of Taunton, Massachusetts, in 1670, and who received a deed of his farm in that town from John Cobb, his cousin,¹ Aug. 13, 1679. Gen. David Cobb, the great-grandson of Augustine, was born in Attleborough, Massachusetts, Sept. 14, 1748, and died in Taunton, April 14, 1830. He was a man of varied accomplishments, and played a conspicuous part during and following the period of the Revolutionary War. After graduating from Harvard College in the class of 1766, he studied medicine under Dr. Nathaniel Perkins in Boston, and was practising his profession in Taunton when called upon to serve with Robert Treat Paine, his brother-in-law, in the Provincial Congress, so called, which held its first meeting in Salem Oct. 5, 1774. In 1775 he appears as a member of the Committee of Inspection and Correspondence for Taunton. During a part of the year 1776 his name is borne upon the rolls of Col. Thomas Marshall's regiment as "Surgeon."² In January, 1777, he was commissioned Lieutenant-Colonel in the Sixteenth Regiment, and later was assigned to duty on General Washington's staff. He was a gallant and meritorious officer; and at the close of the war his services were rewarded by a grant of land and the brevet rank of Brigadier-

¹ John Cobb was in Taunton as early as 1653. His relationship to Henry Cobb, one of the first settlers of Barnstable, has not been established. Savage says Augustine was "thought to be the brother of John"; but it appears, from an entry in the "Proprietor's Book," that he was a cousin.

² The Lieut. David Cobb who appears on the rolls of Captain Read's Company of Col. John Thomas's Regiment in 1775, was of Abington, Massachusetts.



Samuel C. Cobb.



General.¹ As soon as he was relieved from military service, he was appointed (June 7, 1784) by Governor Hancock to be Special Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in Bristol County; and in the following year (Jan. 28, 1785) he was commissioned as one of the standing justices of that court. In December, 1785, he was chosen by the Legislature to be Major-General of the Fifth Division of the Massachusetts Militia. It was while holding these positions of Judge and General that he won something more than a local reputation, by his firmness in checking the riotous demonstrations against the law courts of the Commonwealth in the autumn of 1786.

General Cobb's subsequent career in the public service has been described elsewhere, and does not call for extended notice here.² He was Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives for four years (1789-1792); member of the Third Congress of the United States (Dec. 2, 1793, to March 3, 1795); President of the State Senate four years (1801-1804); member of the Executive Council eight years (1805, 1808, 1812-1817); Lieutenant-Governor of the Commonwealth, 1809; Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas for Hancock County, District of Maine, from June 14, 1803, till 1809. He removed from Taunton to Gouldsborough, Maine, in 1795, having been appointed agent of the "Bingham Purchase." In 1799 he was appointed agent of the proprietors of Gouldsborough. His own grant of land for military service was in Sullivan, Maine. In 1821 he returned to Taunton, where he spent the remainder of his life, — a kind-hearted but somewhat choleric old gentleman, who did much to promote the educational and religious interests of his townsmen, and made it unpleasant for those who did not walk in the path which he appointed. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from New Jersey

¹ A portion of the private diary of General Cobb, covering the siege of Yorktown during the months of October and November, 1781, was printed in the *Proceedings*, vol. xix. pp. 67-72.

² A sketch of General Cobb's life is given in an address delivered at the Taunton Lyceum by the Hon. Francis Baylies, in 1830, printed in the "*New England Historical and Genealogical Register*," and reprinted in pamphlet form by Munsell, at Albany, in 1864. Short biographical notices are also given in Williams's "*American Medical Biography*," p. 82, and in the "*Memorials of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati*," editions of 1873 and 1890. Mr. Baylies's address contained many errors, some of which have been copied in subsequent notices. The statements given above in relation to General Cobb's public services have been verified from the official records at the State House.

College in 1783, and from Brown University in 1790; was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the Massachusetts Medical Society, and of the Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was Vice-President in 1810.

General Cobb married, in 1766, Eleanor Bradish, and had six sons and five daughters. The youngest son (born Jan. 14, 1790; died Feb. 27, 1832) was named George Washington; but after the death of his brother David, who was killed by the Indians on the northwest coast, Oct. 24, 1794, he took the name of David George Washington. He was educated as a lawyer. In 1820 he was chosen to represent the town in the General Court, and in the following year was appointed Register of Probate for Bristol County. He held that office until his death, in 1832. He married Abby, daughter of the Hon. Samuel Crocker, of Taunton, and had two sons and two daughters.

The subject of this sketch, Samuel Crocker Cobb, was the second son, and was born in Taunton, May 22, 1826. Among other private schools which he attended in his early youth was the one kept by Rev. E. M. P. Wells, in South Boston. His stay there was brief and unsatisfactory. He was then sent to the Bristol Academy, in Taunton, of which his grandfather, General Cobb, was the founder in 1792.¹ He was fitted for college there, and expected to enter Harvard College in 1842; but much to his regret then, and indeed throughout his life, he was obliged to give up his studies and begin earning his own living. On Sept. 19, 1842, being then only a little over sixteen years of age, he became a clerk in the service of Messrs. A. & C. Cunningham, foreign shipping merchants, at No. 15 Rowe's Wharf in Boston. In his journal, of which some account will be given further on, he says, under date of April 24, 1845: —

“Sailed on board the bark *Kazan*, Capt. John Leckie, for Königsberg, Prussia. Arrived, May 19, 1845, at Elsinore, and left the bark at that port and proceeded to Königsberg by land, visiting Copenhagen, Stettin, and Berlin; at which latter city I took a diligence for K., passing through the interior of Prussia for a distance of about 370 English miles, which occupied fifty-two hours of continuous travelling. Passed through twenty-seven towns and villages. . . . Ship at Königsberg was consigned to Mr. F. S. Fischel, who received the outward and furnished

¹ So stated in a vote adopted by the Trustees of the Academy in 1793.

a return cargo, which consisted of hemp, spelter, bristles, and hog's hair. Sailed from Königsberg for Boston June 4, and anchored off the end of Long Wharf at 11 P. M., July 21, 1845. Returned to the counting-house of A. & C. Cunningham, and there remained as book-keeper till Oct. 5, 1846. Then embarked for Rio de Janeiro on board the brig *Cecilia*, Capt. Edward Leckie, — having purchased one half this vessel, and Mr. J. Henry Cunningham the other half, — and put on board a cargo for our joint account. Mr. Cunningham also took passage on board. Dec. 1, 1846, arrived at Rio de Janeiro, after a passage of fifty-seven days from Boston. Consigned the business to the care of Messrs. Le Coq & Co. Having arranged to send the *Cecilia* to New Orleans with a full freight of coffee, I decided to return to New York, to which port we had made a shipment of coffee; and Mr. Cunningham proceeded for New Orleans, to look after the business of the *Cecilia* at that port. Dec. 20, 1846, sailed from Rio de Janeiro, a passenger on board the ship *Courier*, Capt. Wm. Wolfe, and arrived Jan. 29, 1847, after a fine passage of 40 days. April 27, 1847, formed a business connection with my esteemed friend and former clerkmate, J. Henry Cunningham, under the firm name of Cunningham & Cobb, and took an office in a brick building, then new, opposite the head of Rowe's Wharf, Boston, on Broad Street (No. 169).¹ July 1, 1848, Chas. W. Cunningham, an older brother of Henry, was admitted a member of the firm, and the style was thereafter changed to Cunninghams & Cobb. Nov. 8, 1847, sailed from Boston for Rio de Janeiro, having taken passage on board the new ship *Peterhof*, Capt. Lewis Endicott, — Elisha Whiting, first officer. This fine ship was built by Sam'l Hall at East Boston, and was designed expressly for the Russian trade, and coffee trade as well. Arrived at Rio de Janeiro, Dec. 24, '47, after a passage of 46 days. Jan. 22, 1848, sailed from Rio de Janeiro for New Orleans, having concluded my business there and taken passage on board the *Peterhof*."

On Nov. 21, 1848, he married (at Belfast, Maine) Aurelia L. Beattie, of East Thomaston, Maine, third daughter of William and Jane D. Beattie of that town.

Under date of Nov. 14, 1849, he says: —

"Sailed from Boston, accompanied by Mrs. Cobb and servant, on board the bark *Orono*, Capt. Christopher Chase, for Messina, Sicily, the firm of which I was a member having chartered this vessel (owned by Col. Black of Ellsworth, Me.) for a voyage to Sicily and back. We arrived at Messina after a pleasant passage of about thirty-five days, and consigned the vessel to a German house, Messrs. D. Claussen &

¹ The place of business was subsequently removed to No. 16 Rowe's Wharf.

Co., who took charge of and sold the outward cargo, which consisted principally of oranges and lemons. At Messina we met Capt Wm. Beecher, of New York. We also met there Gustavus Tuckerman and Theodore S. Bigelow, both of Boston and old acquaintances of mine. The American consul, Mr. F. W. Behn, and Mrs. B. (of Kentucky) were exceedingly kind to us and showed us many attentions, as did also Mr. Claussen and family. We met there also Capt. Latimer, then in command of the U. S. frigate Cumberland, and several of his officers. We proceeded from Messina in a small steamer to Palermo (about twelve hours) early in January, 1850, where business detained me until February 22, when we embarked on board the bark Rover, Capt. Nelson, for New York, and arrived there after a stormy passage of sixty days. At Palermo we formed many acquaintances, some of which proved forever afterwards highly esteemed and valued friends. Among others, we met Messrs. James Rose and Edward Gardner, of the house of Gardner, Rose & Co., with whom for twenty-eight years afterwards I enjoyed an uninterrupted business correspondence and intercourse; also Mr. and Mrs. John M. Marston (Mrs. Marston was sister of John E. and Nathaniel Thayer, bankers, of Boston, Mass.), then, and for many years subsequently, the U. S. Consul at that port."

The firm of Cunninghams & Cobb was dissolved in 1850, when the house of A. Cunningham & Sons was formed. Mr. Cobb then made arrangements to go to the East Indies and remain there as the agent of Weld & Baker; but on the eve of sailing he had some difficulty with his principals, and withdrew from their service.

In 1851 he formed a partnership with Mr. Josiah Wheelwright for the prosecution of a foreign shipping and commission business. The firm occupied the store No. 47 Central Wharf. This connection continued till August, 1858, when the firm was by mutual consent dissolved, Mr. Wheelwright retiring from active business.

From 1858 until 1878 Mr. Cobb carried on business alone and in his own name, first on Central Wharf, afterward at No. 3 Merchants' Row, and later in the New England Mutual Life Insurance Building on Milk Street. In his journal he says:

"During the twenty years I was alone in business I was engaged principally in the Sicily trade, and with the Cape de Verde Islands and Northwest Coast of Africa (Senegal and Gambia). But I found time to prosecute the Brazil trade (Pernambuco and Bahia) to some extent, also that of Russia and Malaga. A portion of my business was on commission, mainly with Palermo, Sicily, and Liverpool, England. I

became interested, from time to time, in vessels which I employed in my own business and occasionally chartered. In carrying on the Cape de Verde and West Coast of Africa business, I was jointly interested with Mr. Francis C. Butman, of Salem, doing business in Boston. We shared the labor, each one undertaking to carry on a portion of the business in our individual names for our joint account. We prosecuted at one time the Pernambuco and Bahia business in the same manner and to our mutual advantage."

From 1860 to 1877 Mr. Cobb gave considerable time to the public service, often at the expense of his private interests. He was originally a member of the Whig party, and voted for the candidates of that party as long as it existed in sufficient strength to make nominations. He never felt at home in any other party. After 1860 he generally acted with the Democratic organizations on State and national questions; but on questions of local government he refused to be bound by any party caucus or convention. He was essentially a business man, and held and expressed very decided opinions on the absurdity of bringing national party politics to bear in the determination of questions relating to roadways, sewers, water-supply, and local police. In his public speeches and addresses he lost no opportunity of trying to impress the voters with the fact that in the management of the affairs of municipal corporations the same rules should apply as in the management of large business corporations, and that the introduction of party tests which have no relation to local affairs has done much to corrupt the service and bring our system of local government into disrepute.

In 1860 Mr. Cobb was elected a member of the Roxbury Board of Aldermen, and served for two years with credit to himself and his constituents. He was then called to Europe on business connected with his shipping interests, which had been seriously affected by the war. On the annexation of Roxbury to Boston, in 1867, he was elected to the Boston Board of Aldermen. At that time the members of the board were voted for on a general ticket; and it is a striking evidence of the estimation in which he was held by his neighbors, and of the position he then occupied as one of the leading merchants of Boston, that he was chosen by a nearly unanimous vote. The charter under which the city was then ruled provided that the executive powers of the government should be

exercised by the Board of Aldermen ; but the Common Council had usurped a large share of the executive functions by having a stronger numerical representation upon joint committees which practically controlled many of the departments. Mr. Cobb was one of the first to see the weakness of the existing system, and to urge a greater concentration of power and responsibility. He found that the duties of the Aldermanic office demanded the larger part of his time, and that the results of his labor were far from satisfactory. For these reasons he declined a re-election. But in the following year he accepted a position on the Board of Public Institutions, where his firmness of purpose and business ability were brought to bear with practical results which the average citizen could well appreciate. A very determined effort was being made to commit the city to the building and maintenance of a great institution for the insane on a lot of land which the best expert opinion had condemned as unsuitable. Mr. Cobb took the ground that it was the duty of the State to provide such institutions ; and that, in any case, the site selected and the plans submitted were defective and ought not to be approved. During his service of about four years and a half on the board he introduced some reforms in the purchase of supplies and in the business management of the institutions which were of lasting value.

On Nov. 11, 1873, at a meeting of the citizens of Boston which included prominent members of the two leading political parties, Mr. Cobb was unanimously nominated for the office of Mayor. The City Committees of the Democratic and Republican parties also nominated him at a later day ; and on the day of election he received 19,191 votes, while his only opponent, a Prohibitionist, received 568. Although the local politicians had no liking for him, the popular demand for his re-election in the following year was so strong that the leaders of the two parties felt obliged to nominate him again, and he was chosen for a second term by a nearly unanimous vote. In 1875 the party leaders made a desperate effort to get possession of the office, and with that view succeeded in getting both the Democratic and Republican City Committees to unite on another candidate. Mr. Cobb had stated that he should not be a candidate for a third term ; but a paper asking him to serve another year received the signatures of some two thousand prominent citizens, and he did not feel

at liberty to decline such a call. A spirited contest followed, resulting in the election of Mr. Cobb by a plurality of 2,574 votes. He states in his journal that he did not contribute, nor was he solicited to contribute any money, directly or indirectly, toward the expenses of his election.

At the time Mr. Cobb was placed at the head of the government the population of the city had reached a point which made a change in the methods of administration almost as imperative as it was when the representative system was substituted for the popular assembly. The annexation of Charlestown, West Roxbury, and Brighton had nearly doubled the municipal area, and had added about 44,000 inhabitants. The first city charter was drawn on lines as close to the town-meeting system as the representative plan would allow. The revision of 1854, necessitated to some extent by the amendments to the State Constitution, tended to weaken what indeed had most need of strengthening,—the executive power and responsibility of the Chief Executive. Hon. Henry L. Pierce, who had preceded Mr. Cobb in the office of Mayor, had been so impressed with the inefficiency of the old system that he had recommended the appointment of a commission to revise the charter. The recommendation had been adopted by the City Council, and the Commission had been appointed in the latter part of 1873, and had entered upon its duties. Mr. Cobb, in his first inaugural address, warmly commended the action, and said:

“I am satisfied that the affairs of the city can be managed with greater economy and efficiency by vesting in the City Council all the legislative powers of the Corporation, and in the Mayor and certain boards and heads of departments all the executive powers.”

And in subsequently transmitting to the City Council the report of the Commission, he said:—

“The work is marked by an intelligent conservatism, suited to the traditions and customs of our people. No changes are proposed in the present methods of carrying on the government except those which have borne the test of experience, and which are clearly demanded by the present condition and prospective growth of the city. It has long been apparent that the business of the government has suffered from the lack of permanence and responsibility in the legislative and executive departments. As the city increases in area and

population, this defect in our organization becomes more and more conspicuous. . . . It is evident that the city has now reached a point in its growth where a change is as much needed as it was in 1822. The people have lost their homogeneous character. The duties of the local government can no longer be performed in the neighborly spirit which is characteristic of smaller communities. Training and experience are necessary to the proper administration of our affairs. To secure this, the tenure of office must be increased, the legislative functions must be separated as far as practicable from the executive functions, and the responsibility for the faithful and intelligent execution of the laws must be clearly defined."

The two branches of the City Council were unable to agree either upon the charter recommended by the Commission or upon any modification of it; but some of its provisions were subsequently incorporated into special laws relating to the city. It was fortunate, perhaps, that the plan of government submitted by the Commission was not adopted as a whole. It was too elaborate; it provided for too many heads of departments, and it undertook to limit and define their duties so closely that there was no room left for discretion, and no inducement to take the initiative in any new work. The need of a strong and responsible executive was not so generally recognized then as it was at a later day. It was necessary that the inefficiency and wastefulness of the old system should be brought out more clearly before anything like an adequate remedy could be applied. Mr. Cobb and others, who heartily supported the plan as reported, did not regard it as a measure good for all time, but simply as a step — and at that time it was looked upon as a long step — in the direction of separating and defining the powers of government and securing a better system of accountability. Ten years later Mr. Cobb, as Chairman of a Commission appointed by the Mayor, recommended a plan which went much further in the direction of strengthening the power of the Chief Executive and curtailing the powers of the Legislative Department; and public opinion had so far changed in the mean time that the leading propositions were adopted without serious opposition, and incorporated into the Act under which the city is now governed.

A number of important Acts affecting the future welfare of the city were adopted during Mr. Cobb's administration. In his first message to the City Council, Jan. 5, 1874, he said :

"I am decidedly in favor of the establishment of several public squares in different sections of the city, to be connected together if practicable, and which shall be easily accessible to the people; and I believe this to be a suitable time to decide on some definite plan, with a view to proceeding with the work at an early day. The first outlay, though distributed over several years, will no doubt be large; but the experience of other cities can be cited to show that, as a business transaction, aside from the sanitary benefits, it would be a financial success."

Upon this recommendation a petition was sent to the General Court, and in the following year an Act was passed which authorized the establishment of the present system of public parks.

It was also upon his recommendation that the important department of Water Supply was transferred from the unpaid and inefficient board (composed of members of the City Council, and of citizens at large elected by the City Council) to a commission of three persons selected by the Mayor and paid for their services.

During the second year of his administration, and largely perhaps through his influence, an Act was passed to regulate and limit municipal indebtedness. This enabled him to introduce what he tersely described as "the pay-as-you-go policy," — that is, to raise sufficient money by taxation annually to pay all expenses except those incurred for the enlargement of the water-works, for which a separate tax is levied. What he was able to do in that direction gave him more satisfaction as a business man than all the rest of his work in the Mayor's office.

At the conclusion of his three years' service he was able to say that the tax levy had been reduced \$2,775,098; and that the rate of taxation had been reduced from \$15.60 on a thousand dollars to \$12.70, notwithstanding the fact that the valuation of real and personal property had been reduced in the mean time by the amount of \$49,876,950.

Soon after retiring from the Mayor's office, Mr. Cobb went to Europe, where he spent some months in travelling. On his return he was chosen (Sept. 1, 1877) President of the Revere National Bank, to succeed the Hon. Samuel H. Walley, who had recently deceased. Much to the regret of the Directors of the bank, he resigned the presidency on March 30, 1878, to

accept the position of Actuary in the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, formerly held by the Hon. George Tyler Bigelow. Of his services in this office—which is one of much dignity and responsibility, but by no means one of ease in these days of accumulated capital competing for investment—the Board of Control placed on their records, after his death, the following statement:—

“During the thirteen years that Mr. Cobb was connected with the company he conducted its affairs with ability, prudence, and skill; with conscientious fidelity to the duties of his responsible position, and entire devotion to the administration of the trust confided to him. His high and manly character, his sagacity and public spirit, his genial temper, generous disposition, and courteous bearing, united to win the love and esteem of all who were associated with him, while throughout the community he was recognized and honored as a loyal, far-seeing, influential, and useful citizen.”

Mr. Cobb well illustrated the saying that it is the busy man who finds time for everything. His intimate and peculiar knowledge of commercial affairs and of the financial standing of his business contemporaries led to a constant demand for his services in positions of public and private trust, and on boards of arbitration selected by the courts or by the parties in interest. He gave much time, and often to the injury of his health, in aid of the various charitable, religious, and educational institutions to which he belonged. He had a keen sense of his responsibility in every position in which he happened to be placed. The Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, of which at the time of his death he was president, placed on record the statement that “his services to the Society as an officer for more than twenty-five years, and as a member of its Standing Committee since 1861, is a history of constant and disinterested devotion. None took a higher pride in its membership than he; none watched more constantly over the maintenance of its traditions and usages; none guarded it more jealously against any tendencies toward the destruction of ancient and useful landmarks.”

Mr. Cobb was for some years an active and influential member of the Board of Directors of the Institute of Technology. He was also one of the Directors of the Old Colony Railroad Company, a Trustee of the Bay State Trust Company

and of the Forest Hills Cemetery ; Chairman of the Commission to select a site and build the Danvers Hospital for the Insane ; and Treasurer of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians.

He was often called upon to speak in public as the representative of the city or of some organization of which he was a member, and although without either special training or natural aptitude for such service, he acquitted himself well. On occasions for which he was able to make some preparation beforehand, the matter and form of his addresses were excellent. His address of welcome to the city's guests at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill (June 16, 1875), his oration on the centennial anniversary of the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati (July 4, 1883), and his speech at the banquet of the General Society of the Cincinnati in Baltimore (May, 1890) contain matter of historical value.

During the greater part of his business life Mr. Cobb lived on Highland Street, in Roxbury, having for his next-door neighbor Rev. George Putnam, D.D., of whose church he was long one of the most active and valued members. In 1878 he removed to Boylston Street, in Boston, and subsequently became a member of the First Church, Berkeley Street.

Until middle life he was a man of more than ordinarily strong and vigorous constitution. In 1870 he had a serious illness, growing out of his arduous services in the Board of Aldermen in addition to his large private business. He never fully recovered his former vigor, although outwardly he showed no signs of impaired health until the spring of 1890. He was then suffering intense pain from an internal disease, but continued to perform his usual amount of work until the peremptory orders of his physician obliged him to desist. The nature and extent of his illness were not fully known until near the end. After many weeks of suffering, which he bore with admirable courage, "sustained and soothed by an unfaltering trust," he passed away peacefully and apparently without pain, on Feb 18, 1891. He was buried at Forest Hills Cemetery.

Mr. Cobb's character was not one that calls for elaborate analysis. He was a thoroughly healthy-minded man, to whom life was sweet. He possessed a singularly frank and open



nature, and was candid and direct in motive and purpose. He had a good knowledge of character and sound business instincts. His mental and physical courage were equal to any emergency; and his promptness in action, and contempt for anything like trifling or a want of resolution, showed that he had inherited the prominent traits which history and tradition have assigned to his paternal grandfather.

At a very early age he began to keep a diary, in which he noted, at first in the briefest form, his own doings from day to day. Later he introduced some comments on those with whom he came in contact, and on the principal events of the times. He also kept in addition, during the latter years of his life, a journal, in which he gave biographical notices of his contemporaries and some account of the affairs in which he took part or in which he felt a special interest. The value of the work is somewhat impaired by the form in which it was put, and by the difficulty of separating the statements made on the writer's personal knowledge from those copied from the newspapers of the day. It has, however, considerable historical value, and is well worth preservation as a work of reference.

MARCH MEETING, 1892.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 10th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting and the list of donors to the Library during the last month were read; after which the PRESIDENT said:—

Death has recently removed from the roll of our Corresponding Members two of our associates, highly distinguished and honored for eminent service in different ranges of ability and usefulness. Dr. J. G. Shea has been on our roll for nearly thirty-seven years. He devoted his life and pen to researches and historical compositions largely relating to French explorations and the labors of Roman Catholic missionaries on this continent. His published works are numerous; and his fidelity and painstaking in securing accuracy and thoroughness in the wide field of his investigations placed him at the head of those esteemed by his church for zeal in her honor and service.

Gen. G. W. Cullum died on the 28th of last month, three days after he had entered, with unabated mental vigor, on his eighty-third year. His distinguished military career as chief engineer of the United States army was the crowning of a long professional life, from his graduating at West Point Military Academy nearly sixty years ago. His first service was in the construction of Fort Adams, Newport; others were upon our own harbor defences and upon Fort Sumter. He was a master of the science of his profession, in mathematics, in fortifications, in engineering, in the construction of pontoon bridges, and as a staff-officer in the War of Secession. Travel abroad and a wide range of study, guided and improved by strong intellectual powers, gave him a breadth of culture and information which made him a most instructive and attractive companion, and added value to many productions of his pen.

After he had finished his fourscore years, he revised and enlarged, with vast labor of research and correspondence, for a third edition, his Register of the Graduates of West Point, in which institution he had been a professor and superintendent. He was the Vice-President and the most efficient worker of the American Geographical Society. His large fortune is judiciously distributed to noble public institutions. It gives me satisfaction to have this opportunity of paying a respectful tribute to one whom I have highly esteemed as a kind and an attractive friend in an intimacy with him, and in the enjoyment of his pleasant hospitality during several recent summers in Newport.

In conformity with a vote passed at the last meeting of the Society, Mr. ROGER WOLCOTT communicated from the Council the following extracts from a report made to that body by a committee, of which Mr. Charles F. Adams was chairman, — Mr. Adams being now in Europe: —

The Committee of the Council to which was referred at the last meeting the question of filling existing and future vacancies in the list of Resident Members of the Society submit the following report: —

It appears to your Committee that it should be borne in mind that this Society is, as its name indicates, primarily the Massachusetts Historical Society. In other words, it covers the entire Commonwealth; and consequently all portions of the Commonwealth should to a certain extent be represented upon its list of Resident Members.

In the second place, it is most desirable that, representing as it does the whole Commonwealth, in the roll of its members should be included the names of any persons resident in the Commonwealth who have distinguished themselves, or in any way become eminent, in the field of historical research.

These two elements in membership ought, in the opinion of your Committee, to be fundamental, and all other representation should be introduced somewhat in subordination thereto.

In order to present clearly the present distribution of membership, so far as the Commonwealth is concerned, your Committee submit herewith a map of the State, upon which the distribution of Resident Members is indicated by circles

and figures. Of the ninety-eight members at present on the Resident roll it would appear that fifty-eight reside east of a north-and-south line in extension of West Chester Street in Boston, and forty west of that line. Of the forty west of that line, eighteen are residents of Cambridge. Sixty-four of the ninety-eight Resident Members are inhabitants of either Boston or Cambridge.

Of those members, thirty-four in all, not inhabitants of either Boston or Cambridge, four are from Worcester County, eight from Essex, seven from Middlesex, eight from Norfolk, three from Plymouth, and one each from Suffolk (Chelsea), Berkshire, Bristol, and Hampshire. Five counties in the State — Franklin, Hampshire, Barnstable, Dukes, and Nantucket — are not represented by any Resident Member.

In view of the large concentration of population, wealth, and higher education in Boston and its immediate vicinity, the fact that seventy-six out of ninety-eight Resident Members live within a ten-mile radius of the Society's rooms is in itself no fair subject for adverse criticism. Natural causes would obviously dictate some such approximate result. Nevertheless, while in no way reflecting on such a concentration of membership, it is, in the judgment of your Committee, highly desirable that every county in the State should have at least one representative in the list of Resident Members. It is possible that the counties of Barnstable, Dukes, and Nantucket could be suitably represented by a single member; although, in the case of Nantucket at least, there is a sufficient amount of historical interest connected with that island to make it desirable for the Society to have a local representative from it, if a suitable one could be found.

The county of Worcester also is of such extent, and the interests in it are so diverse, that it seems desirable the northern portion of the county, of which Fitchburg is the half county town, should be adequately represented, as well as the southern part of the county, from which there are now three Resident Members, all from the city of Worcester.

In order, therefore, to secure the Society a suitable geographical representation, it would seem that Resident Members need to be elected as follows: one at least from the counties of Barnstable, Dukes, and Nantucket; one more from the northern portion of Worcester County; and one each from

Franklin and Hampshire counties, making, in all, four Resident Members.

It has frequently been argued that the presence of members residing at a distance cannot be depended upon at the meetings of the Society, and that for that reason alone it is desirable that this description of membership should be limited. While the argument to a certain extent is undoubtedly sound, yet the statistics of attendance prepared for the use of the committee would seem to indicate that Resident Members living at a distance from the Society have on an average been as constant in attendance as those dwelling in the immediate neighborhood. For instance, the average attendance of the large number of members resident in Boston has, during the last three years, been thirty-seven per cent, and that of those from Cambridge twenty-eight per cent; while that of the Society as a whole has been thirty-five per cent, or about the same. . . . But, in the judgment of your Committee, from the present point of view the question of attendance is immaterial. Were it proposed to elect a large number of members upon geographical considerations alone, the argument from non-attendance would become all-important. This is not the case. It is proposed to elect members on geographical grounds simply to an extent sufficient to secure the Society representation in all the counties of the State, and in this way to control a medium through which to conduct correspondence. Local events and celebrations of historical interest continually occur, and it would seem to the Committee most desirable that in all such cases the Society should have Resident Members who would feel an interest in keeping it advised as to such occurrences, — persons who, in such connection, could be corresponded with by our officials.

While a review of the present membership shows that, as a whole, it is fairly well selected and representative, yet any analysis of it makes apparent the fact that the selection has not been made in pursuance of any consistent plan or on any wide general views either of the field or the material available. It has to a certain extent been matter of chance, or due to personal considerations; and in some cases to a natural unwillingness to give possible offence by opposing the evident desire of others.

It only remains to say that during the last ten years (1881-

1890) forty-six Resident Members, filling vacancies caused either by death or resignation, have been elected, — indicating an average election of about five new members each year on the Resident list.

In view of the foregoing facts and conclusions, your Committee would therefore recommend —

1. That in the election of Resident Members in future regard be first paid to the matter of proper geographical representation, to the extent above indicated;

2. That the eminence of candidates, either as historical students and writers, or as authorities in matters connected with history, be next considered; while, finally,

3. The list should be filled by a careful selection from those who on general grounds, whether of high public office or of professional or social eminence, merit recognition, and in return would add value and dignity to membership in the Society.

The following committees were appointed, to report at the annual meeting in April: To nominate officers, Messrs. Roger Wolcott, Mellen Chamberlain, and Thornton K. Lothrop; to audit the Treasurer's accounts, Messrs. Abbott Lawrence and Arthur Lord; to examine the Library and Cabinet, Messrs. James M. Bugbee, A. Lawrence Lowell, and Henry W. Haynes.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN recalled the subject of the Waters-Winthrop map, and spoke as follows: —

Among the discoveries of great historical importance made in London, during the past few years, by our associate Mr. Henry F. Waters, there is a very early map of the eastern part of Massachusetts, which on several occasions has been the subject of comment and discussion before this Society. It is in manuscript, and was found in the Sloane Collection of the British Museum. The map contains various marginal notes and other memoranda in the handwriting of Gov. John Winthrop, showing that once it had been in his possession, and perhaps was made by him; but unfortunately there is no date, and the time when it was drawn can be conjectured only from internal evidence. The necessary inference from these notes is that they were written while Winthrop was Governor;

and this fact throws out of the question a period of three years, extending from May 14, 1634, to May 17, 1637, when Dudley, Haynes, and Vane were the chief magistrates of the Colony.

A possible clew to its history may be detected in two references made in letters written from England by Robert Ryece to Governor Winthrop, and printed nearly thirty years ago in a volume of Winthrop Papers. (Collections, fourth series, VI.) The first reference is found in a postscript to a letter, under date of Sept. 9, 1636, which says: "I praye you remember the plott or mappe of New Englande" (page 409). This was evidently intended by the writer as a reminder of a previous request, made probably during their correspondence, which had then been kept up for some years. The other reference is contained in a letter, dated Jan. 17, 1636-7, at Preston, from which the following is an extract:—

"I wrotte also vnto you the 9 of September laste, which I hope maye be safely come to your hands, and I hope agayne by the nexte opportunitie, God wyllinge, to wryte vnto you. I am muche beholdinge vnto you for your lettres and advertisements, beinge very sory I can not now make any requitall agayne. I am styll a bolde petitioner to you to helpe vs to a mappe of your contry as it is now inhabited, & is ioyned with new plantation of Conetticote, & yf wee lyve, wee hope to be very thankfull for the same" (page 394).

Robert Ryece, the writer of these letters, was a well-known antiquary of Suffolk County in England, and an intimate friend of the Winthrop family. Urgent appeals from such a source, like those just given, would not be likely to pass unheeded; and without much doubt the request was granted, though probably not until after Winthrop was chosen Governor in the spring of 1637, which would have been near the time when the last letter was received. Ryece died on Sept. 15, 1638; so that in any event, if this theory be correct, the map was sent not later than that year. He was a noted collector of antiquities, and in his hands a plan of Massachusetts so far as the territory was then settled, and drawn with such care from original sources, would have been highly prized, and would have stood a good chance of final preservation. For many years there has been in the British Museum a manuscript which is said to have been compiled by him, entitled "A

Breviary of Suffolk," and bearing date Feb. 9, 1618. My authority for the statement is McKeon's "Inquiry relating to the Parish of Lavenham," as quoted on page 72 of the Appendix to the "Memorial of Samuel Appleton." (Boston: MDCCCL.) This fact shows that after Ryece's death one of his own works drifted eventually into the library of the British Museum; and it is easy to suppose that some of his other manuscripts may have taken a similar course, and found their way ultimately into the same collection, though perhaps at a different time.

An interesting feature of the map is that the names of the towns, rivers, and ponds, as there given, are written in a small plain hand, which does not seem to be Winthrop's. These were written when the map was drawn, while the marginal notes and other memoranda were evidently added at a later period and with another pen. Throwing these notes out of the case, there is no evidence on which to place the date with any certainty later than 1633; but taking the notes into consideration, independently of any previous request, there is good reason to refer the time when it was sent to England to 1637 or 1638, with the probability in favor of the earlier year.

The allusions in Ryece's letters are somewhat unsatisfactory, but yet they throw a glimmer of side-light on the question. They seem to justify the conclusion that Governor Winthrop, agreeably to the request of his correspondent, sent a map made several years before, though it did not meet all the requirements; and at the same time he availed himself of the opportunity to add a few notes which he thought would be of interest to his friends at home.

My attention has just been called this afternoon by Mr. Waters to an interesting entry found on page 153 of the "Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660" (London, 1860), which may possibly have some connection with this question. In that volume, under date of June 28, 1632, is recorded the following:—

"Mr. Saltingstall [is] desired to make a map of Salem and Massachusetts Bay for the Council [for New England]."

At that time Sir Richard Saltonstall was already in England, and never returned to Massachusetts, though it is sup-

posed that he intended to come back, as on May 29, 1633, he was chosen an Assistant of the Colony by the General Court. Perhaps the allusion is to his eldest son, then in Watertown. It is possible that under that action a draft was made, which may have been the original of the Waters-Winthrop map, now under consideration. A comparison of Sir Richard's handwriting or his son's with that found on the map might be of help in solving the problem.

Dr. Green's remarks were followed by a brief discussion on the part of Mr. HENRY F. WATERS, who was inclined to think the map may have been traced from an earlier original; and of the Hon. MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN, who carefully investigated the date of the map when a copy was first procured for the Boston Public Library, but was not able to arrive at a definite conclusion on the matter.

Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER then said : —

I have recently found an interesting little document¹ in the handwriting of Ezra Stiles, the President of Yale College in the last century. It is the diary of a journey which he made on horseback from New Haven to Philadelphia and back in the autumn of 1754. He had been only eight years out of college, during which time he had studied divinity, preached to the Stockbridge Indians, performed important experiments in electricity, and been admitted to the bar. At the time of writing this diary he was practising law in New Haven; and in the following year he delivered a Latin oration upon the occasion of Franklin's visit to the college.

Mr. Stiles was a keen observer and an accurate writer; and his quaint narrative of the places he visited and the people he saw will, I think, deserve a place in our Proceedings. I will add a few explanatory notes.

1754, *Sept* 20. Began journey. Set out from New Haven abo't ½ after 10. Din'd at Mad. Laws.² Lodgd at Fairfield. Spent evening at M^r Hobart's.³

¹ In the possession of Rev. Jonathan Leavitt Jenkins, D.D., of Pittsfield, a great-grandson of President Stiles.

² Widow of Jonathan Law, late Governor of Connecticut, whose residence was at Milford.

³ Rev. Noah Hobart, pastor at Fairfield, 1738-1778.

21. Breakfasted at Belding's, Norwalk. Dined at Meads, Horse-neck. Lodged at Kingsbridge.

22. Arrived at N. Y.; put up at Dibbles. Went to New Eng. Chh.;¹ heard M^r Barclay.² Afternoon went to Old Dutch Chh.;³ heard the eloquent M^r de Ronde;⁴ after meeting met M^r Ketteltas.⁵ Drank tea with him at his house. Lodged there with him.

23. Morning went to view the Market, M^r Noels shop; bot Curiosity, &c., 2/. Gave at chh. /6. Went to see Old Eng. Chh.,⁶ & view the monuments in the chh. yard. At M^r Murrays; Synagogue,⁷ & there saw the perpetual lamp, &c.; the Fort & Half Moon Battery, in which stands the Gov^rs house & the Barracks; thence to Exchange,⁸ thence to M^r —, musician, & heard him with M^r Ketteltas play on violin most charmingly, & on the spinet & organ. Dined at M^r Biars with three Philad^a ladies; an elegant entertainment. Thence met at M^r Ketteltas, & walkd with M^r Wickham⁹ on into the Common;¹⁰ drank bottle of mead; thence to the New Dutch Chh.,¹¹ & from the steeple took prospect of the city. Waited on M^r Smith, &c., & in evening a most elegant collation at M^r W^m Livingston's¹² with M^r Scott,¹³ & M^r Smith,¹⁴ & Hillhouse,¹⁵ & Wickham, & Ketteltas; supped, & settled politics over a generous bottle. Lodged at M^r Ketteltas's.

24. In morning took horses, & with M^r Ketteltas & 3 other Dutch gent. took boat, & sailed 9 miles across to Staten Island, on which we road, till crossing a small ferry, we arrived at Elizabeth Town Point. Dined at Eliz^a Town. Arrived at Newark about 3 aft. Waited on

¹ St. George's Chapel, corner of Cliff and Beekman Streets, built in 1752.

² Henry Barclay, D.D., Rector of Trinity.

³ The South Dutch Church, in Garden Street. Built in 1696; destroyed in the great fire of December, 1835.

⁴ Rev. Lambertus de Ronde, successor of the venerable Du Bois.

⁵ Peter Ketteltas (or Keteltas), a wealthy merchant of literary taste. Abraham Keteltas had graduated at Yale two years before, and became a clergyman of the Reformed Dutch Church, and a zealous patriot.

⁶ Trinity, built 1696; burned 1776.

⁷ A stone edifice in Mill Street, built 1730.

⁸ At the foot of Broad Street. Erected 1752.

⁹ Probably William Wickham (Yale, 1753), afterward a member of the "Moot," — a famous coterie of lawyers.

¹⁰ Near the present City Hall.

¹¹ The Middle Dutch Church in Nassau Street; built 1729. In 1844 bought by the United States for a post-office.

¹² The well-known lawyer; afterward Deputy to the Continental Congress, and the first Governor of the State of New Jersey.

¹³ John Morin Scott, a classmate of Stiles, and one of the Sons of Liberty.

¹⁴ William Smith (Yale, 1745), a member of the "Moot"; later, Chief-Justice of Canada and Historian of New York.

¹⁵ Perhaps James Abraham Hillhouse, then tutor at Yale, who seems to have accompanied Stiles on this journey, sharing the expenses.

President Burr.¹ Went to prayers, after which 2 young gent. of the college² acted *Tamerlane & Bajazet*, &c. Lodged with M^r Badger.

25. Commencement ; waited on M^r Pres^t Burr, & viewed the college library. Went to meeting, where saw a most splendid assembly of gentlemen & ladies. In the forenoon heard the exercises, after which S^r Shippen³ pronounced an ingenious oration. Afternoon, M^r President began the exercises with a learned oration. Degrees conferred ; among others, degree of A.M. on Rev^d M^r Whitefield,⁴ who sat with Gov^r Belcher⁵ in pew. Both forenoon & afternoon as the procession entered, & again when they went out of the meeting house, anthems were sung very melodiously by a chorus of men & women in the gallery. About half an hour after academic exercises, M^r Whitefield, mounted on a stage by the Court House, preached a sermon in open air to a large auditory from Luke 1. 15. Saw Cousin Smith. Waited on M^r Duffield,⁶ and lodged with M^r Badger.

26. Breakfasted with M^r Duffield. Rode to M^r Alison⁷ (Rector of Philad^a Academy) his lodgings, who wrote three letters by us to gent^l at Philad^a, recommend^r. Journeyed thro Elizabeth Town & Raway. Oated at Woodbridge, — fine, agreeable country. Passed the Ferry, & dined at Brunswick. Saw a dwarf woman, about 3 feet high. Passed Kingstown. Lodged in Princetown, & viewed the foundation of the College House.⁸

27. Rose about 3 in the morning, & set off about an hour before break of day. Entered & passed through Maidenhead a little after break of day, & breakfasted at Trentown, — after having been lost ; arrived safe & dined at Bristol (opposite Burlington), where saw a monkey. Met M^r Franklin (son⁹). Passed thro' Lower Dublin, & oated at Oxford. Arrived at Philad. About sunset put up at Bidwells, sign of Indian King. .

28. In morning went into Market. Visited Academy. M^r Alison, Mast^r Lat. School, £200 ; M^r Eben Kinnersly,¹⁰ Mast^r Eng. School,

¹ Aaron Burr the elder, pastor at Newark, 1738–1756 ; died at Princeton, 1757.

² The College of New Jersey, founded at Elizabeth Town, 1746 ; removed to Newark, 1747 ; and to Princeton, 1757.

³ William Shippen, Jr., M.D., Founder and Professor of the Medical School, College of Philadelphia.

⁴ The noted evangelist.

⁵ Governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, 1730–1741 ; of New Jersey, 1747–1757. Chief patron of the College of New Jersey.

⁶ Rev. George Duffield, D.D., Chaplain in the Revolution.

⁷ Francis Allison, D.D., classical scholar ; first teacher of Philadelphia Academy ; Vice-Provost of the college ; pastor First Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia.

⁸ See note 1, p. 343.

⁹ William Franklin, son of Benjamin, afterward the last Royal Governor of New Jersey.

¹⁰ Dr. Kinnersley, the friend of Franklin and Thomas Hopkinson, the first leo-

£150; M^r Theoph. Grew, Math. Mast^r, £120; M^r Creamer, Mast^r French & Italian & Dutch & Drawing, £100; M^r Smith,¹ Mast^r of Phil., Math., & Moral. Orators, — W^m Kinnersley, Henry Merchant, Henry Benbridge, Tho^s Bond, Rob^t Jones, Jasper Yeates. Pastoral Speakers, — Andrew Hamlington & W^m Hamlington,² Jn^o Okill. Morn^g. waited on M^r Kennersly; he went with us to the Court House, where y^e Supreme Court was sitting; heard M^r Francis,³ Attorney General, and M^r Moland plead a cause to the jury. The Court House the most magnificent edifice⁴ I ever saw. Afternoon waited on M^r Cross. Walkd in M^r Pemberton's⁵ gardens. View the stocking frame knitting machine in Arch Street, — a most curious invention! Walkd to M^r Kennersly's. View'd the Academy apartments;⁶ heard M^r Duchè,⁷ a young gentleman, reading philosophy under M^r Smith, pronounce Prologue of Cato, &c., & young M^r Kennersly (about 11 ætat.), &c. Went up, & from top of the Academy viewed the city of Phil^a, in which are churches; viz., the Eng. Chh., the Presbyterian Chh., the Dutch Lutheran Chh., Dutch Calvinistic Chh., Baptist Chh., M^r Tennants⁸ new Presbyt. Chh., Papist Chappel, 3 Quaker meetings, Morav. View'd the rods & wires which defend the Academy House from lightning. Viewed the bells, &c., in M^r Kennerslys house & electric rod. Waited on M^r Stergeon & Chief Justice Alling.⁹ Walked in the Coffee House.¹⁰ Spent evening at our lodgings with M^r Kennersly.

turer on "The Newly Discovered Electrical Fire," Sept. 21, 1752, in the State House at Philadelphia. He soon after went to Boston by invitation of James Bowdoin, and repeated the course in Faneuil Hall, and afterward at Newport. His fame extended widely over Europe.

¹ Dr. William Smith, just arrived from Scotland, the first Provost of the college.

² Andrew and William, sons of Andrew Hamilton 2d, a brother of Lieut.-Gov. James Hamilton.

³ Tench Francis, Sen., Recorder in the Mayor's Court, King's Attorney, Trustee of the Academy.

⁴ Not the Old Court House in Market Street, but the State House, then recently finished.

⁵ Clarke Hall, southwest corner of Chestnut and Third Streets, the residence of the early Governors: bought by Israel Pemberton, Sen., the eminent Quaker, 1745; famous for its garden-walks and shrubbery, clipped in the artificial style then prevalent in Europe.

⁶ On Fourth Street, near Mulberry Street; built, 1741, for Whitefield's meetings; bought by Franklin and others, in 1749, for academy purposes; created a college, 1758; the University of Pennsylvania, 1779.

⁷ The Rev. Jacob Duché, Jr., a graduate of the first college class, 1757; Chaplain for a time to the Continental Congress.

⁸ The Rev. Gilbert Tennent, one of four clerical brothers. His church was on the northwest corner of Third and Arch Streets.

⁹ William Allen, son-in-law of Andrew Hamilton, 1st; Mayor, 1735; Chief Justice, 1751-1774.

¹⁰ Perhaps the London Coffee House, corner of Front and Market Streets, a famous resort about this time.

29. Went to — Chappel; heard M^r Harding the Jesuit. Dined at Chief Justice Alling's. Went aft. to Presbyterian meeting; heard Rev^d M^r Alison; drunk tea with him at M^r Cross's. Evening went to Quaker meeting, & waited on M^r Sturgeon in comp^a with M^r Pinto & M^r Duchè; supped there.

30. Breakfasted at D^r Shippen's, &c.¹ Attorney's names: M^r Francis, Kings attorney; M^r Ross; Moland; Galloway;² Chew;³ Ottoway fr. Lond.; M^r Shippen,⁴ Prothonotary of Supreme Court; . . . Jn^o Price. In morning went to M^r Franklin's office⁵ & viewed the Old Chh.⁶ After breakfast Mess^{rs} Jos. & W^m Shippen accompanied us to Springbury,⁷ where passing a long spacious walk, set on each side with trees, on the summit of a gradual ascent, we saw the proprietor's house; & walkt in the gardens, where besides the beautiful walk, ornamented with evergreens, we saw fruit trees with plenty of fruit, some green, some ripe, & some in the blossom on the same trees. The fruit was oranges, limes, limons, & citrons. In the hot house was a curious thermometer of spirits & mercury. Spruce hedges cut into beautiful figures, &c., all forming the most agreeable variety, & even regular confusion & disorder.

We then walk thro' a spacious way into the wood behind & adjoining to the gardens, the whole scene most happily accomodated for solitude and rural contemplation. Thence we walkt to Gov^r Hamlington's seat.⁸ Took a walk in his very elegant garden, in which are 7 statues in fine Italian marble curiously wrot; invited into his house; viewed the very splendid & grand apartments magnificently decorated & adorned with curious paintings, hangings, & statuary, & marble tablets, &c. After viewing these curious prospects we passed by the Center House & returned into town; ascended the turret⁹ of the State House, & thence

¹ Dr. William Shippen, Sen., one of Franklin's junto, a founder of the college and hospital, member of the Continental Congress, thirty years trustee of Princeton College.

² Joseph Galloway, Franklin's friend, speaker of the Assembly, member of the Congress of 1774.

³ Benjamin Chew of Cliveden, Attorney-General, Councillor, Recorder, Chief Justice, the friend of Washington and John Adams.

⁴ Edward Shippen, 3d, a noted lawyer, Provincial Councillor, Chief Justice.

⁵ Franklin's house was at the southeast corner of Race and Second Streets.

⁶ Probably Christ Church in Second Street, whose lofty steeple had just been added.

⁷ Springettsbury, a fine country-seat of the Penns, west of Bush Hill, near Fairmount, named for William Penn's first wife, a daughter of Sir William Springett.

⁸ Bush Hill, a part of the manor of Springettsbury, near Fairmount, a stately mansion built by Andrew Hamilton, 1740, and at this time the property of his son James, the governor.

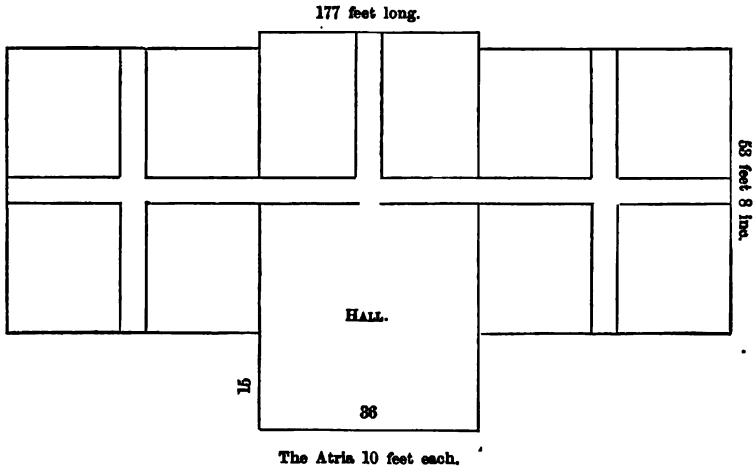
⁹ The steeple and bell had just been added.

took a full prospect of the city. Retired & drank a glass wine & water at M^r Shippens, & waited on M^r Kinnersley, who shewed his curious electrical apparatus, with sundry experiments, &c. Dined at D^r Shippens in an elegant, social, & genteel manner. Waited on M^r —.

Mounted our horses, took leave of the gentlemen who had thus so kindly accompanied us about 4 clock. Bot pair stockings in Arch Street. Made our farewell compliments to M^r Alison, & left Philad^a about 5 clock afternoon, & arrived at Bristol abo't $\frac{1}{2}$ after eight in evening, where we lodged. N. B. Shewed M^r Kinnersly M^r — Poem on the Spring, who was so well pleased with it that he requested me to leave it with him for the use of his young orators.

Oct. 1. Breakfasted at Ferry. Viewed the foundation & plan of college at Princetown,¹ 177 f. long & 53 $\frac{1}{2}$ f. wide.

PLAN N. JERSEY COLLEGE, PRINCETOWN.



Rob^t Morris,² Esq^r, Gov^r in Chief of Pennsylvania, set out from Brunswick for Philadelphia with a splendid retinue of near 50 gentlemen to accompany him. Arrived at Woodbridge before 7 clock, where we put up. Journeyed this day 50 miles. Mem. Anthony Lamb in N. Y., near Cruger's wharf, near M^r Carpenter's market.

¹ Nassau Hall, completed in 1757; the largest stone edifice then in America. It served as a model for University Hall at Providence, 1790. This plan is drawn three times in the diary, the painstaking writer evidently wishing to have it accurate.

² Robert Hunter Morris, on his way to assume the functions of his office two days later at Philadelphia.

2. Breakfasted at Eliz^a Town. Dined at N. Y. Evening went to Synagogue & heard prayers; then went to evening lecture at Old Dutch & heard M^r de Ronde. Bot Blackwall's Classics,¹ 2 v^{ols} 8^{vo} a 12/. Lodged at M^r Ketteltas's. Young's Love of Fame, 4/6. Onania, 8/.

3. Waited on M^r Scott. Bot L^d Forbes's Works, 2 v. 12 @ 11/. Dined at M^r Ketteltas's. Waited upon M^r Scott; spent afternoon with him; stated M^r Darling's case. Bot eye glass, 6/. Spent evening at M^r Smiths, in comp^a Mess^{rs} Phillip & W^m Livingston, Scott Hill-house, & Ketteltas. Supped, &c. Lodged at M^r Ketteltas's.

4. Rose about 5 *mane*; breakfasted at Cregier's, about 4 miles out of y^e city; accompanied thither by kind M^r Ketteltas. Dined at Memarneck. Lodged at Stamford. Waited on M^r Welles.

5. Breakfasted at Belding's, Norwalk. Dined at M^r Thad^s Burrs,³ and arrived at college in evening.

Mr. President, I have here another little fragment from the same source, giving a list of presents received by Mr. Stiles during a part of his ministry at Newport, Rhode Island. It is entitled "Mem^o of Gratuities," and embraces the period from October, 1759, to October, 1763.

It is interesting as showing the income of a clergyman in those days, both in cash and in kind. With his usual precision, Mr. Stiles puts down, —

Incomes of Year ending Oct. 22, 1760.

£65 salary @ 26 for 1	£1690	—	—
Presents	469	7	—
Loose money contrib ⁿ	59	5	8
Wedding fees & fun ^l gloves	55	—	—
Sale law books	88	—	—
	£2311	12	8
Exch ^t @ 26 for 1, abot	£90	ster.	
Wood at abot	15		
Incomes this year	£105	ster.	

In his account for the next year he figures his "incomes" at £110 sterling, and puts exchange at thirty for one. In

¹ The Sacred Classics defended and illustrated, by Antony Blackwall. Lond. 1727.

² The Rt. Hon. Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Session, d. 1747. His "Works" were published soon after, containing: 1. A Letter to a Bishop; 2. Some Thoughts concerning Religion; 3. Reflections on the Sources of Incredulity.

³ Fairfield. It was at Mr. Burr's house that John Hancock and Dorothy Quincy were married in 1775.

1762 and 1763 exchange was thirty-two for one, showing how the bills of Rhode Island had depreciated.

Among the presents he received from his parishioners, I select the following at random :—

Gov. Ellery, a load hay, $\frac{1}{2}$ bush. onions, 1 gall. molass, turkey, 2 cheses, p^d my part journey expenses; Major Otis, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ gloves, 1 bb. syder, pork; M^r Vernon, 1^{lb} chocol.; M^r Jos. Hamond, butter, potatoes, eggs, pumpkins, goose; M^r Coggeshal (Tho'), 1^{lb} tea; Kendal Nicols, Esq', 1 pigg, turkey; M^r Gardner, raisins, butter, sparib, a baise red petticoat, alapuca for Ezra; M^r Chesebro, a hog, 76^{lb}, 1 doll. for sermon on Juⁿ 3. 3; M^r Bill Ellery, 2 fowls, chese, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. nutmegs, cloke, gloves; M^r Trevot, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. wine, 1 gall. do., almonds, raisins; Capt. Sherburne, 1 chese, loin veal; M^r Ben Ellery, chese, 20^{lb} tobacco; M^r Stelle, 2 q^{ts} Geneva, milk; M^r All, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ gloves; Capt. Juⁿ Nicolls, a firkin Irish butter; black cloth coat & breeches & velvet jacket & breeches, being pulpit mourning for the King; Major Rogers, fun^l gloves; do., M^r Arnold's wed^s; M^r Channing, $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. bottle Madeira; M^r Peck, bottle oyl, & sugar; M^r Jones, stone ring; M^r Otis, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. pipes; M^r Saltonstal, 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ wed^s gloves; M^r W^m Vernon, 1^{lb} bohea, $\frac{1}{2}$ hyson; M^r King, yd. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ holl. & thread; M^r Dennis, a Gamon; M^r Ellery 1 Δ pins, pork; Mess^{rs} Sayer & Dennis, proc. for journey to Connect; M^r Chesebro, lawn & lace, capuchin for Betsey; M^r Arnold, sweetmeats; Capt. Chh, 2 gall. rum, 1 case do.; Deac. Pitmans fun^l, $\frac{3}{4}$ gloves. Add M^r Wilson's legacy, £50 ster.

The Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP said :—

There seem, Mr. President, to be a few minutes left before our usual hour of adjournment, and I may be pardoned for taking advantage of them. Let me first read to the Society an inscription on the monument to the Baron De Kalb, which has been sent to me by our associate member, Mr. Edwin L. Bynner, who, I am sorry to say, is in delicate health, and has been obliged to seek refuge from our March winds in warmer climates. In his rambles at Camden, South Carolina, where he is now staying, he met with this monument to De Kalb, of which the corner-stone was laid by Lafayette in 1825. The inscription is as follows :—

[*South Side.*]

Here lie the remains of BARON DE KALB, a German by birth, but in principle a citizen of the world.

[*West Side.*]

He was second in command in the battles fought near Camden on the 16th Aug^t, 1780, between the British and Americans, and there nobly fell covered with wounds while gallantly performing deeds of valor in rallying the friends and opposing the enemies of his adopted country.

[*North Side.*]

In gratitude for his zeal and service the citizens of Camden have erected this monument.

[*East Side.*]

His love of liberty induced him to leave the old world to aid the citizens of the new in their struggle for independence, his distinguished talents and many virtues weighed with Congress to appoint him Major-General in the Revolutionary Army.

On the stone which is directly over the remains, hidden from view by the base, is inscribed:—

“This stone was placed over the remains of Baron De Kalb by General Lafayette, 1825.”

And now let me say, Mr. President, that my primary purpose in coming here this afternoon was that I might be in the way of uniting with the Society in doing homage to our valued and venerable associate, Dr. Lucius R. Paige, on his having reached his ninetieth birthday, and of offering him my personal felicitations on his having safely entered another decade of life. I will not call it the last decade; for we all hope that, in the good providence of God, he may live to be the first centenarian in our ranks. We have never had one, I believe. We all know, however, how very uncertain life is at such an age as his.

Centenarians are not often to be met with anywhere. I walked in a procession with one—Dr. Holyoke, of Salem—sixty-four years ago; but I have seen none since. The venerable Charles Cleveland—a near relative of the late President of the United States, and who was one of the most unwearied visitors of the poor while I was president of the Boston Provident Association—wrote a hymn for his own hundredth birthday, and kindly sent me a copy of it. But I attended his funeral a fortnight before he had reached the date. I had a most interesting interview with Paine Wingate, the last survivor of the first Senate of the United States, when

he was on the verge of his ninety-ninth year, but he died before he had finished his century.¹

Within a few weeks past my venerated friend, Henry Hill, long known as the Treasurer of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and who gave every promise of completing a hundred years, passed away in his ninety-eighth. He was a remarkable man, who prepared and published a little volume of *Reminiscences* a few years ago, and continued to write pamphlets until within a year or two past, — addressing them to me in as steady and beautiful a handwriting as if he were fresh from the copy-books of the schools. I take this opportunity to present some of them to our library, as of historical interest in themselves, and as the fruits of a memorable old age.

Let me return, however, to Dr. Paige. He is not present, as I hoped he would be, to receive our salutations. The iron stairs, which I hesitated about climbing at eighty-three, are a full apology for ninety. Let us send him our cordial greetings and congratulations from this hall, with our earnest hopes that health and happiness may be his to the end.

Mr. Winthrop then moved the following resolution : —

Voted, That the Secretary be directed to communicate to Rev. Dr. Paige the congratulations of the Society on the completion of his ninetieth year, and their best wishes for his continued health and happiness.

The motion was unanimously adopted, all the members rising when the vote was put.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN then read the following note from Rev. Dr. Paige : —

CAMBRIDGEPORT, March 7, 1892.

DEAR SIR, — As to-morrow will be my birthday, I fear I shall be so much fatigued by greeting my friends that I shall be unable to attend the meeting of the Historical Society on Thursday. If possible, however, I will be with you, as usual. The hour spent with the Society is one of the most pleasant and enjoyable in the whole month, and I shall much regret the loss of it, if my fear shall be realized.

Respectfully, etc.,

LUCIUS R. PAIGE.

HON. S. A. GREEN.

Mr. John Fiske was elected a Resident Member.

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. iv. pp. 303-305.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1892.

THE Annual Meeting was held on Thursday, the 14th instant, at twelve o'clock, M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last stated meeting and the list of donors to the Library during the last month, the PRESIDENT announced the death of Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., an Honorary Member, who was elected in September, 1873, and died in Alicante, Spain, of small-pox, March 16, 1892.

The President then read the following letter from the senior Vice-President, Mr. Francis Parkman, who was unavoidably absent from the meeting:—

50 CHESTNUT STREET, 11 April, 1892.

MR. PRESIDENT:

MY DEAR SIR,—I send herewith a number of manuscripts, notes, and calendars of documents, as an addition to the "Parkman Papers" already belonging to the Society. The following is the list:—

Canada, Correspondance Officielle, 1621–1679 . . .	1 vol. folio.
Papers on the Canadian Jesuits	1 vol. quarto.
Jesuit Letters, 1683 to 1708	1 vol. thin 4to.
Documents and notes on the Jesuits, Frontenac, etc.	1 portfolio 4to.
Calendar of documents from the French Archives, relating to the time of Frontenac, 1672–1698 . .	1 packet.
Notes from original documents used in preparation of "The Old Régime in Canada"	2 vols. 4to.
Marquis de la Roche, 1598. Rapport du Capitaine Fleury, 1613. Lettre de la Sœur Cécile de Sté. Croix, 1639	1 small 4to.
Calendar of French and English MSS. used in pre- paration of "A Half-Century of Conflict" . . .	1 packet.
Calendar of French and English MSS. on the "Seven Years' War," 1748–1763 (used for "Montcalm and Wolfe")	1 portfolio.
Notes and Extracts on Acadians, Abenakis, Father Sebastian Rale, etc.	1 portfolio.

Relation sur le Canada 1695, 1696, and various papers
 on French Canada 1 packet.
 Papers relating to Louisbourg, 1745, and extracts
 from Journal de Franquet, 1752 1 portfolio.
 Papers relating to La Vérendrye, from originals in
 Dépôt des Cartes de la Marine. Various autograph
 papers on Acadia, etc. 1 packet.

Very truly yours,

F. PARKMAN.

[Indorsed: "List of Papers given to Mass. Hist. Soc., 11 April, 1892, by F. P."]

The President said he had received a letter from Major James Walter, reaffirming the genuineness of the so-called Sharpless-Washington portraits;¹ and on his suggestion the letter was referred to Mr. A. C. Goodell, Jr., for examination.

Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, from the second section, on being called on, read the following paper:—

A few Words more about Leif Ericson and the Norse Sagas.

A committee of this Society was appointed in November, 1887, to consider the question of the alleged discovery of America by the Northmen; and at the following meeting their report was presented. In it they stated their conclusion to be that "there is the same sort of reason for believing in the existence of Leif Ericson that there is for believing in the existence of Agamemnon,—they are both traditions accepted by later writers; but there is no more reason for regarding as true the details related about his discoveries than there is for accepting as historic truth the narratives contained in the Homeric poems."² The grounds for this conclusion were said to be that "such details, if true, now rest upon no stronger foundation than a tradition of four hundred years." The report also suggested as an alternative that "*all* of these details are a romantic fiction, as *some* of them plainly are." Since this report was presented, the researches of the late Arthur Middleton Reeves (whose tragical death all students of history deplore) have tended to reduce the period of tradition to three hundred years.³ Your committee, however, do not think that their argument as to the truth of the multi-

¹ See 2 Proceedings, vol. iii. pp. 179-187.

² Ibid. vol. iv. p. 48.

³ The Finding of Wineland the Good, p. 23.

plicity of details contained in the Sagas has been invalidated by this.

It seems that the believers in the historical character of the Sagas have taken great exception to the comparison instituted between the probable existence of Leif Ericson and of Agamemnon, for which, as the writer of the report, I suppose I must be held accountable. On a previous occasion I have referred to certain criticisms of this report, and of the motives that were alleged to have inspired it, made by Rev. Dr. B. F. De Costa;¹ and I now wish to call the attention of the Society to some comments upon it, of a character by no means complimentary, to be found in the recently published historical work of Mr. John Fiske. These I will quote at considerable length:—

“It would be difficult to find a comparison more inappropriate than that between Agamemnon and Leif, between the Iliad and the Saga of Eric the Red. . . . It is in a high degree probable . . . that in times long before the first Olympiad an actual ‘king of men’ at Mycenæ conducted an expedition against the great city by the Simois, that the Agamemnon of the poet stands in some such relation towards this chieftain as that in which the Charlemagne of mediæval romance stands towards the mighty Emperor of the West. Nevertheless the story, as we have it, is simply folk-lore. If the Iliad and the Odyssey contain faint reminiscences of actual events, these events are so inextricably wrapped up with mythical phraseology that by no cunning of the scholar can they be construed into history. The motives and capabilities of the actors, and the conditions under which they accomplish their destinies, are such as exist only in fairy tales. . . . It would be hard to find anything more unlike such writings than the class of Icelandic Sagas to which that of Eric the Red belongs. Here we have quiet and sober narrative, not in the least like a fairy tale, but often much like a ship’s log. In act and motive, in its conditions and laws, its world is the every-day world in which we live. . . . I suspect that misleading associations with the word ‘Saga’ may have exerted an unconscious influence in producing this particular kind of blunder, — for it is nothing less than a blunder. Resemblance is tacitly assumed between the Iliad and an Icelandic Saga. Well, between the Iliad and *some* Icelandic Sagas there is a real and strong resemblance. In truth, these Sagas are divisible into two well-marked and sharply contrasted classes. In the one class belong the Eddic Lays and *mythical Sagas*. . . . In the other class come the *historical Sagas*.”²

¹ 2 Proceedings, vol. v. p. 332.

² The Discovery of America, vol. i. pp. 194–197.

In a foot-note Mr. Fiske cites Vigfusson as his principal authority for this characterization of Icelandic literature; but Vigfusson's exact language is: "What we hold is that the Sagas are to be looked upon as epics, founded on fact, not as exact histories."¹ The Saga of Eric the Red is regarded by Mr. Fiske as belonging to the class of historical Sagas, and it is to be found in two versions, — an earlier (Western) one, the *Hauksbok*, which gives an account of events that happened three centuries before it was written; and a later (Northern) version, the *Flateyrbok*, containing considerable additional material concerning the Vinland voyages. This, however, can scarcely be thought to add to its historic value. Mr. Fiske thinks that the *Hauksbok* "may be a faithful transcript of some earlier document since lost." He does not believe that "it will ever occur to any rational being to suggest that Hauk may have written down his version of Eric the Red's Saga from an oral tradition nearly three centuries old. . . . One cannot reasonably doubt . . . it was copied by him . . . from some older vellum not now forthcoming." Finally, in his summing up of his argument Mr. Fiske says:

"It is probable that the facts mentioned in Hauk's document rested upon some kind of a written basis as early as the eleventh century. The data are more scanty than we could wish, but they all point in the same direction. . . . For these reasons it seems to me that the Saga of Eric the Red should be accepted as history."

Such is the line of argument, drawn mainly from a supposed transmission through imagined copies, that is relied upon by Mr. Fiske to establish the historical character of this "quiet and sober narrative, not in the least like a fairy tale," notwithstanding all its strange stories about the "uniped"; and the "big ball swing from a pole over the heads of the white men, falling to the ground with a horrid noise"; "the ships of the Skraelings, with their crews and oars"; the grapes found by Leif's foster-father, Tyrker, upon whose juice he became "quite merry"; the fields of "self-sown wheat," and similar veracious narratives. Because your Committee were unable to see in a Saga abounding in episodes like this more than a poetic narrative based upon certain actual occurrences handed down

¹ "Leif Erikson," by Mrs. Ole Bull. (*Magazine of American History*, March, 1888.)

by tradition, they are accused of having committed "a blunder." Now, Webster defines a blunder as meaning "a gross error or mistake, resulting from carelessness, stupidity, or culpable ignorance." Under which head Mr. Fiske would class our difference of opinion he has not made quite clear. In his attempt to elucidate the historical character of this Saga he is constrained to give up the "uniped" in despair, as "a fabulous creature"; but the "self-sown wheat" causes him no trouble whatsoever, — indeed, for him it is "an important ear-mark of truth in the narrative"; it means *maize*, "a cereal requiring so little cultivation that without much latitude of speech it might be described as growing wild." Governor Bradford, however, who had had some practical experience on this point, thought differently. In his account of the earliest doings at Plymouth he tells us: —

"As many as were able began to plant ther corne, in which servise Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both y^e maner how to set it, and after how to dress and tend it. Also he tould them excepte they gott fish and set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing." ¹

In turning over Mr. Fiske's pages, however, I have chanced upon certain statements that would seem to me to come quite up to the accepted definition of a blunder. For example, he states that Helbig² says that "stone-pointed spears were used by the English at the battle of Hastings."³ But if he had taken the trouble to read what Helbig actually does say, he would have found only a literal translation of William of Poitiers's statement that the Anglo-Saxons had "club-like weapons, consisting of stones made fast to wooden stocks." Again, he tells us that "the Romans in the regal period were ignorant of iron."⁴ This is stated upon the authority of Lanciani;⁵ but a long while ago I showed this conclusion of Lanciani to be entirely wrong, and that he "might as reasonably have argued that Rome was founded in the Age of Stone as in the Age of Bronze."⁶ So, also, Mr. Fiske asserts that

¹ Bradford's History of Plymouth, p. 100.

² Die Italiker in der Poebene, p. 42.

³ Discovery of America, vol. I. p. 186.

⁴ Ibid. p. 81.

⁵ Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries, pp. 39-48.

⁶ The Nation, Jan. 24, 1889.

"the earliest distinct reference to Columbus in the English language is to be found in a prose translation of Sebastian Brandt's 'Shyppe of Fooles,' by Henry Watson, published in London, by Wynkyn de Woode, in 1509."¹ The authority cited for this statement is HARRISSE.² But Mr. Fiske failed to notice that HARRISSE makes a reservation expressly in regard to Alexander Barclay's poetical version of the same poem, as he had been unable to find it. Warton,³ however, informs us that Barclay's translation was made in 1508, and that it was published in 1509 by Pynson. Consequently the world seems to have agreed to regard this as the earliest notice of Columbus in our tongue.

But enough of picking flaws in so learned, painstaking, and entertaining a work as Mr. Fiske has produced. Indeed, I think he has made it quite evident that he has no very different opinion in regard to the personal identity of Agamemnon from that of your Committee. True, in speaking of Abraham and Agamemnon, he says in a foot-note: "I here use these world-famous names without any implication as to their historical character or their precise date."⁴ But, earlier in his work, he has drawn a contrast between Agamemnon and Edward III.;⁵ and in a subsequent passage he says that "the Inca was in all probability much more a king than Agamemnon,—more like Rameses the Great";⁶ thus sandwiching him between two personages certainly historical in a most realistic fashion.

When your Committee made their much-criticised comparison between the actuality of Leif and of Agamemnon, they only voiced the sentiment so admirably expressed by one of the greatest living classical scholars of England, in considering the confirmation of Agamemnon's existence supposed to be afforded by Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenæ. He says:

"This wide sway of the Pelopidæ, on which Homer so emphatically dwells, though it rested only on tradition, and was not supported by what we should call historical evidence, was to the Greek mind a real fact,

¹ Discovery of America, vol. i. p. 452.

² Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima, Additions, p. 45.

³ History of English Poetry, § xxix.

⁴ Discovery of America, vol. i. p. 124.

⁵ Ibid. p. 113.

⁶ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 337.

which the most sceptical of their historians would hardly have ventured to dispute. In their eyes Agamemnon was not, as one school of modern critics regard him, a mere shadow projected on the blank background of an unknown past, and of which we shall never grasp the substance. This *magni nominis umbra* to the ancients suggested a real personality, — a king whose disastrous fate, coming so soon after his triumphant return from Troy, served in after ages as the favorite theme of epic and tragic poetry; his memory, embalmed in the immortal verse of Æschylus and his brother dramatists, still lives on; and it is not without violence to deep-rooted associations that an old-fashioned scholar can train himself to think of Agamemnon as merely a name representing a dynasty, still less as one of the *dramatis personæ* in a solar myth.”¹

Your Committee feel that they have been fortunate in “blundering” in good company, at least, in claiming, in their “old-fashioned” way, Agamemnon as an historical personage worthy of being named in the same breath with even Leif, the son of Eric, of whom Mr. Fiske himself declares that “it is an abuse of language to say that he discovered America.”²

The controversy over the historical character of the Sagas will be settled in accordance with the character of the minds of the disputants, — whether they are willing to decide only upon the weight of the evidence, or are swayed by credulity based upon conjecture. So far the verdict of the majority of the students of history has not been in accord with Mr. Fiske’s views.

No other member rising, Mr. ROGER WOLCOTT, from the third section, communicated some letters belonging to the early period of the Revolutionary War, and said : —

Since the last meeting of the Society we have passed an anniversary the significance of which to earlier generations of Bostonians is probably obscured to very many of our citizens to-day by the coincidence of another and more ostentatious commemoration. It is the latter that calls our governors and mayors to the steps of State House and City Hall to review the passing pageant of marching men and burdened barouches, while the flags flying from our public buildings are the silent reminders of the former.

¹ C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archæology*, p. 248, from the *Edinburgh Review*, 1878.

² *Discovery of America*, vol. i. p. 255.

I ask a brief moment of your time to read a few extracts from letters written by two actors in the events which culminated in the evacuation of Boston by the British troops. The writers were brothers, and were sons of Jabez Huntington, of Norwich, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale, and at the opening of the war a man of large fortune acquired in the West India trade. This fortune, and his five sons as well, he freely devoted to the patriot cause; and all of his sons acquired military distinction, three of them dying with the rank of major-general of the regular army or State militia. The father was himself appointed in 1776 by the Assembly of Connecticut one of two major-generals; and on the death of David Wooster from a wound received at the skirmish at Danbury with Tryon's retreating troops, the vacancy was left unfilled, and General Huntington placed in sole command of the entire Connecticut militia.

The oldest son, Jedidiah, graduated with distinguished honor at Harvard in the class of 1763. His name stands second on the college catalogue in a class of thirty-nine, which contained, among others who afterward became famous, the younger Josiah Quincy and Timothy Pickering. The Master's degree was conferred upon him by Yale College in 1770. He became an ardent Son of Liberty, and just a week after the battle of Lexington joined the army at Cambridge, as captain commanding a regiment, and was afterward detailed as part of the force to occupy Dorchester Heights. After the Evacuation he marched with the army to New York, entertaining the commander-in-chief on the way at his house in Norwich. At General Washington's request he was made brigadier-general in May, 1777, and at the close of the war received the brevet rank of major-general. He was constantly engaged during the war in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, and shared the hardships of Valley Forge. In July, 1778, he was a member of the court-martial that tried General Lee, and in September, 1780, sat upon the court of inquiry to which was referred the case of Major André. In 1783 he was appointed one of a committee of four officers to report a plan of organization for the Society of the Cincinnati. The above is but an outline of his distinguished public service, and omits many important particulars. His portrait by Trumbull shows a most gallant and martial figure, and a face instinct with energy and resolution.

A younger brother, Colonel Joshua, not yet twenty-four when the exciting news from Lexington reached Norwich, hastened to the scene of action with a hundred men under his command, as lieutenant, and was at once joined to Putnam's brigade. That the young lieutenant was not deficient in the power of controlling his men is made evident by the testimony of his brother, who writes from Providence, June 13, 1775 :

"I do not know what credit brother Joshua is in camp, but I find at this place and all along the road he has got himself much honor from the good order and regularity of his company. He is much spoken of for his good behavior."

He too followed the army to New York, and at a later period was employed in securing shipping for the patriot cause.

It may be interesting to note that a third brother, Ebenezer, was a senior at Yale, when he too was fired by the same impetuous patriotism which had drawn his brothers to Cambridge. He applied to the Faculty for a dismissal, and on being refused at once left New Haven, and joined a company of volunteers on its march to Boston. But a college diploma still possessed value in his eyes even amid the clash of arms. From Roxbury Camp, under date of Sept. 25, 1775, he writes to his father:—

"I should be glad if you would get me a certificate from President Daggett that I am in regular standing in college, and likewise a recommendation, as I imagine I can have a degree without going to Commencement for it; as Dr. Langdon has given me encouragement that he will give me one if the New Haven President refuses it — if I am denied it only because of my tarry from college this summer, and my leaving it without liberty, in the alarm last April."

The advantage of having two strings to one's bow was well illustrated in the case of this young soldier; for he not only received from Yale College the degree of A.B. with his class, but was presented with the same degree *honoris causa* by Harvard College in accordance with the promise of its patriotic president.

The extracts which I shall give begin with one from a letter of Joshua, dated "Prospect Hill in Cambridge," June 22, 1775. The first pitched battle of the war had been fought five days before. He writes:—

"Should have wrote you last week from Dedham but came from there in the alarm on Saturday last. As to the Battle I am not able to give you the Particulars att Present The Proviucials have Lost ab' 70 or 80 men as Near as I Can find out by the Difrent Officers & ab' 120 Wounded, butt very few Wounded Mortally, the Report from Boston is that the Regulars have Lost & Wounded one thousand Men among Whom tis said are a considerable number of Officers some say General How and Maj' Pit Carn is killed; I am now encamped on Prospect Hill ab' one mile from Charlestown ferry, we have entrenched so strong that tis thought we shall be able to keep our ground, we have been fired att a number of times from the Ships and Floating Battery, butt they were not able to reach us, several men have been killed since Monday last by guns going off accidentally, although the officers take all possible care to prevent it. We have 2 men in our Company Wounded in the battle but not Mortally, . . . we lost none."

Sept. 18, 1775, he is able to report:—

"As to nuse we have nothing Remarkable att Camp, itt is a General time of Health with the army, though there are Numbers Sick, very few Die, itt is said to be very Sickly in Boston, with the Inhabitants, as well as with the Soldiers, & that the Inhabitants Die very fast."

A few days later he writes:—

"I take this opportunity to acquaint you of the circumstances of our Regiment; according to the Arrangement of the Army the Maj' & Brigadier Generals are not to hold their respective regiments, & the Field Officers are not to hold their Companyes, and tis thought by the officers of our Regiment that it is necessary to have the vacancies filled up, the Field officers have wrote the Governour on the matter, should be glad you would advise the Governour to fill up the Vacancies in the Field Officers Companies, if you think it best, Suppose it will be entirely agreeable to the officers of the Regiment to have me take the Command of Maj' Durkee's Company as Captain; however am willing to have the Governour Do as he thinks Best, in regard to Filling up Vacancies. Butt shall rest entirely sattisfied with your doing as you think will be of the most advantage for the good of the Army, in giving your advice in the matter."

In November he reports, "The Reduction of St. Johns we have had, with the Terms of Capitulation." He then adds:

"I can't say when I shall be at home, as the Connecticut troops are desired to stay the month of December, I am affraid that our soldiers will not stay, any longer than they first engaged for, so shall stay as long as our company will tarry and then return. . . . We expect to

entrench on Cobble Hill this Night, which I expect will Disturb our Enemies."

We now take up the letters of Jedidiah. Under date of "Camp at Roxbury, 5 January, 1776," he writes:—

"Colonel Trumbull is recruiting—as to his sending money cannot say—this much I know that the Demands here for Cash exceed the Supplies, the last Sum that came which was about a Fortnight ago was 500,000 Doll: & that was not half enough—The Troops (Connecticut excepted) have recd Pay only to the 1st Nov^r—and several Departments are complaining for the want of Money—The Prize which the Post told of proved to be a ship from the southward with Flour bound to Newberry Port.—I saw a Boston Paper of Yesterday—containing Addresses from many manufact'g Towns in England to His Majesty applauding his Measures & exclaiming against us—that . . . Sayre Esq^r¹ was committed to the Tower for high Treason. . . .

"Fascines are now cutting in preparation for possessing an important Post to annoy the Enemy—

"long orders are daily issuing from Head Quarters to put the new Army under the best Regulation—I hope & doubt not that better Order & Discipline will be seen in the new Army than was in the old."

A week later he writes:—

CAMP AT ROXBURY 12 Jan^y 1776

HON^d SIR,—I wrote you by Post since which have not been favoured with any of yours—I write Benj not to send me a Horse till he hears further from me—The General is determined to have the Army together the first of February—for which he has caused Advertisements to be published in all the Papers notifying all Officers & Soldiers to join their respective Corps at that time—

I now begin to think I shall not visit My Friends at Norwich before the latter End of February—Some Preparations are making for taking Ground on Dorchester Point, but not so forward as I could wish—I would not be uneasy at Delay, as our Inactivity may in the Hands of divine Providence be made as effectual for our Deliverance as the most vigorous Action, but it is not probable that we shall ever have a more

¹ This was Stephen Sayre, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, who received from Harvard College the honorary degree of A.M. in 1766. He was Sheriff of London in 1774, and a prominent banker and merchant. "His zeal for the independence of his native country was unmeasured; and an officer of the Royal Guards, named Richardson, also an American, seized upon a gay and unguarded expression of Mr. Sayre to bring a charge of high treason for imagining the death of the king, and he was committed to the Tower. The charge soon ended in Mr. Sayre's release." He was afterward employed in many important diplomatic missions, and died in 1818.

favourable Time than the present to put our Enemies to the Rout — and should we be so Successful as to divest them of their Strong Holds in Boston it is not very likely they will get a Footing that we cannot easily supplant at any other Place — The Militia who were called in to strengthen our Army and were enlisted to stay 'till the middle of this Month are now desired to continue to the End of it, but I do not expect many of them will stay — when they are gone, this Camp will be reduced to less than 2,000 men fit for Duty unless the Recruits come in — I send you the Brigade Majors Return of General Spencer's Brigade by which you will see the Strength of it, and by that, the Strength of the whole Army as the other five Brigades are nearly the same

I remain your affectionate & dutifull Son

JED. HUNTINGTON

The Return mentioned above must be omitted till my Next as it is not completed at the closing of this Letter —

After an interval of five weeks he sends the following letter:—

ROXBURY CAMP 19th Febr 1776

HON^d SIR, — I have your Favours of 11th & 14th instants have Opportunity to say few words only by this Bearer — We are making Preparations as fast as possible in Order to bombard the Town &c. — Two load of Powder arrived last Evening from Providence — the last of Col Woolcot's Companies came in yesterday — Col: Durkee is very sick — there are several Vacancies of Field Officers in the Army If the Governor can cleverly mention Major Chester to the General as an Officer of Family, Fortune, military Spirit &c (all which may be said with Truth) perhaps he will be appointed to some Place or other which I am sure he will fill much more to the Honour of the Colony & Service than some have done — I have nothing material to add only that I send Love & Duty to all — pray Mother may be enjoying usual Health —

I am Your dutifull & affect^d son

JED. HUNTINGTON

The principal event for which all these preparations were made was soon to be realized. On March 14th he writes:—

“The King's Troops are not gone from Boston but we understand they are preparing to do it as fast as possible — a Letter out of Boston supposed to be from M^r Austin one of the Selectmen says the Enemy have stripped him of every thing worth carrying away & that others are sharing the same Fate, most of the Ships are laying at Nantasket Road and seem to be deeply laden — five of our Regiments together with the Riflemen are ordered to march — Starks of New Hampshire; Bond's &

Greaton's & Patterson's of Massachusetts; & Webbs of Connecticut are the five under Orders — the Riflemen are to go to Day — the others to morrow — when & what Part of the Remainder of the Army will leave this Station is not yet known — it will depend upon the further movements of the Enemy — I hope to see Home on this Occasion as our Motions will be that way.

On the 17th the British flag left Boston,—never, let us hope, to return except in friendship.

. ROXBURY CAMP 17th March 1776

HON^d SIR, — This morning we had the Agreeable Sight of a number of ships leaving the Town of Boston with a large number of Boats full of Soldiers, about ten of Clock several Lads came to our out Centries and informed us that the Troops had intirely left the Town and that the Selectmen were coming out to see us, soon after we had the Pleasure of seeing Mess^{rs} Austin, Scolly, Marshall &c — they had an Interview with the General & gave him the best Intellegence they could concerning the state of the Town & the Intentions of the Enemy — the Enemy are now all laying between the Castle & Light House in full View from the Town and make a very formidable Appearance, we shall keep a sharp look out till they are out of Sight at least — the Talk of the Town is that the Troops are gone to Hallifax — the Country ought to be well on their Guard in every Place where it is likely they will make a Descent — I expect most if not all the established Regiments will be ordered from this Station as soon as the Enemy are gone from the Bay — where my Destination will be I know not I hope it will give me an Opportunity of seeing Norwich — my Love & Duty to Mother & all & remain Your

dutifull & affectionate son

J HUNTINGTON

HON^{BLE} JABEZ HUNTINGTON.

And so on that bright Sunday afternoon in early spring the great fleet bearing the entire British army of occupation, together with eleven hundred loyalists, sailed down our beautiful harbor as far as Nantasket Road, where the vessels lingered for ten days longer, before they finally weighed anchor and stood out to sea.

Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE said that had he not been disabled by bodily indisposition, he would have attended the March meeting. He was the more anxious to be present at that time because it was so near the anniversary of the commence-

ment of that terrible witchcraft excitement which convulsed the community two hundred years ago, and he desired to exhibit a book which may have had some influence upon that excitement. He had long possessed a volume of Rev. William Perkins's works containing much concerning witchcraft, the proper method of detecting it, and the penalty which it deserved. On the titlepage of the volume is this inscription: "The Gift of Deacon Rob^t Sanderson to Sam^l Parris March 1, 1691-2." Whether or not this book rendered any aid to Mr. Parris as a guide or stimulus or check, is questionable; but there cannot be much doubt concerning the good Deacon's intention in its presentation.¹

Dr. Paige also referred to a statement of our former associate, the Hon. Richard Frothingham, quoted by Vice-President Adams in his paper concerning the "Genesis of the Massachusetts Town," that "the Charlestown town-records contain the earliest entry ever made in any Massachusetts town-book indicating the formation of a board of selectmen." Although I should hesitate to express a doubt of Mr. Frothingham's accuracy in regard to almost any other historical fact, in this case his assumption of priority is certainly unfounded. In his communication to the Antiquarian Society and in his "History of Charlestown," he says that townsmen or selectmen were elected in Charlestown Feb. 10, 1634-5. But a similar board of officers was elected in Cambridge one week earlier; namely, Feb. 3, 1634-5. Under that date it is recorded that—

"At a general meeting of the whole town, it was agreed upon by a joint consent that seven men should be chosen to do the whole business of the town, and so to continue until the first Monday in November next, and until new be chosen in their room; so there was then elected and chosen John Haynes, Esq., Mr. Symon Bradstreet, John Taylcott, William Westwood, John White, William Wadsworth; James Olmsted, Constable.

"It is further ordered, by a joint consent, [that] whatsoever these Townsmen, thus chosen, shall do, in the compass of their time, shall stand in as full force as if the whole town did the same, either for making of new orders or altering of old ones.

"Further, it is ordered, that whatsoever person they shall send for,

¹ Robert Sanderson was elected a deacon of the First Church Feb. 14, 1668-9, and died Oct. 7, 1693. See *History of the First Church*, p. 328; *History of the Old South Church*, vol. i. p. 49 n.; 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, vol. v. p. 385.

to help in any business, and he shall refuse to come, they shall have power to lay a fine upon him, and to gather [it].

"Further, it is ordered, that they shall have one to attend upon them, to employ about any business, at a public charge.

"Further, it is ordered, that they shall meet every first Monday in a month, at [*worn off*] in the afternoon, according to the former [*worn off*]." ¹

Dr. Paige then said that he could not command any language which would adequately express his appreciation of the kindness to himself expressed by this Society at its last meeting. He would attempt nothing more than to acknowledge his profound gratitude for the assurance that during his long life, though laboring under many disadvantages, he had secured and still retained the approbation and regard of such a group of associates.

Rev. Dr. SAMUEL E. HERRICK presented a copy of "Memoria Technica: or, a New Method of Artificial Memory, applied to and exemplified in Chronology, History, Geography, Astronomy," which he had picked up in a very ragged condition in a bookstall on Cornhill, and had had repaired and rebound. It has on the titlepage the autograph of Robt. Clive, with the date 1741, and must have been in the possession of Lord Clive while he was a school-boy, and perhaps after he went to India.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said: —

I take this opportunity of communicating a letter, in an unknown hand and without signature, addressed to Gov. John Winthrop, Jr., in November, 1659, and indorsed by him, "Copy of Cap^t Peverel's letter of greeting." This word "greeting" was evidently used in the sense of lamentation, as the letter is a sort of graphic jeremiad over the disturbed condition of England, the feuds prevailing in the Parliamentary party, and the rivalry between Monk and Lambert, the writer intimating that many good people are so much alarmed at the state of affairs as to wish themselves in New England. I find no other reference to this Captain Peverel among the Winthrop papers, and shall be grateful to any one who can help me to identify him. Sir Walter Scott has not accustomed us to associate this

¹ History of Cambridge, p. 21.

surname with Roundhead officers, one of whom he certainly was, as well as an entertaining correspondent. The letter is written on a sheet of foolscap, and was probably accompanied by a note of explanation which is now missing. The handwriting is not that of Hugh Peter, Fitz-John Winthrop, William Hooke, or Sir Kenelm Digby, the persons in England with whom John Winthrop, Jr., habitually corresponded at this period. I incline to think the friend who sent it was John Maidston, some time an officer of the House of Commons, and a connection of the Winthrops through the Cloptons. A letter from him to John Winthrop, Jr., written in March, 1659-60, describes at great length the state of affairs in England for some years back, and gives an interesting account of the character of both Oliver and Richard Cromwell. It was long ago printed by us in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. i. pp. 185-198; and there is a somewhat inaccurate version of it in Birch's Collection of Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. pp. 763-768. The original letter (the only one from Maidston among the Winthrop papers) was loaned to Governor Trumbull during the Revolutionary War, and was found among the Trumbull papers which came into our possession in 1794. It perished in the conflagration which destroyed so much valuable property of this Society in 1825, and I cannot therefore compare the handwriting with that of this Peverel letter.

*To the Worshipfull John Winthrop, Esquire, Governour of
Conetticott Colony.*

Things runne in extreame passion. Selfe intrest (although strongly denied) hath held the helme so long that now the Commonwealth is in danger of the Northern lands. For, since the suppression of S^r George Boothers insurrection, which did heave at all & had greatly endangered the whole but that his fellow gamesters brought not in their stakes, another hydious head appeared (in the Parliament account) & they endeavouring to smite off 9 of the cheife officers of the Army, as Lambert, Disberow, &c., the Army gave them such a purge as carryed bowells and all along with it. But the Parliament hath left such bones of contention behinde them in 3 acts. One is y^e none shall pay any money into y^e publique but what was payable since the yeare 1640, upon payne of treason. Another, to make a septarchie of the generall-ship betwixt Fleetwood, Overton, Ludlow, Morley, Walton, Haslerig and Monke. The other was the displacing of the nine officers; y^e Achitophill himselfe could not finde a meane betwixt arbitrary power &

destruction. But Monke is discontented (and we say he is a Caviliere) and hath drawn to the borders of England most of the forces of Scotland wth him, declaring for the late Parliament (we say a Parliament indefinite), and hath casheered & imprisoned an hundred Annabaptist officers (we say honest officers), and put up deboist men in their room. A miracle it was that Booth had not carryed all before him against Parliament and Army both; a greater (if miracles have degrees) y^t London had not been made like Munster at the interruption of the late Parliament; & a greater it must be to reconcile Monke & Lambert, who are preparing one against an other wth such heate of spirit, y^t if the frosty wether do not alay in nothing but destruction will do it. New Castle is sought after by either side, & he that first possesseth it will have the warmest quarters. The Army (and Committee of Safety in England) hopes to bring the warre into Scotland, they of Scotland into England, the Caviliers into both, & are perswaded that the King of Scots, who is now at Madrid, will be ready by Jannuary next wth a formidable force in Scotland: so that some amongst us feare Popery, some Annabaptisme, some persecuting Presbuterianisme. Really, S^r, here is so horrible a distraction in mens minds, and contrariety of factions and affections, y^t poetrie it selfe cannot feigne any thing y^t can goe higher, so that many good people wish themselves in New England. If I should give you the particulars since Aprill last, it would weary and greive you to read them, y^t the English nation should seeme to be let loose out of Bedlum. The Currantors will informe you who are y^e 23 men of the Committees of Safety, in whose hands (if in any particular) y^e government is placed. To y^m it will (or must) be made obey. Some men are to have the late dissolved Parliament called againe as the onely expedient, but such blockes are in y^e way y^t it seemes difficult. By the end of the next sommer you will see England much changed, for the better or worse.¹

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR presented a photographic copy of the map of the territory northwest of the Ohio, made by John Fitch, whose name is associated with the beginning of steam navigation in this country. This map, dated in 1785, was cut in copper by Fitch himself, in a crude, amateurish way, and the impressions were made on a rude press which he constructed for the purpose. After this he peddled the copies through the Ohio Valley, where he lived. In the making of it he had the countenance of Hutchins, the official geographer of the United States at that time.

¹ Immediately after the concluding sentence the words "y^e 11 of October" are stricken out, and "8 day of November" substituted.

When Professor Ebeling gathered his books and maps at the end of the last century, he secured this map, and it came with his collection to Harvard College Library in 1818. If I had not been often taught to say that nothing is "unique," I should venture to use that word now. I at least know of no other copy. The British Museum does not possess one; and Mr. C. C. Baldwin, of Cleveland, who has written on the geographical history of Ohio, has collected, during the last thirty years, the most extensive gathering of maps illustrating that subject, from the earliest period of mapping the Ohio River and the basin of the Great Lakes, and Mr. Baldwin tells me he has never seen the map. The late Col. Charles Wittlesey, in a little memoir of Fitch, speaks of the map, and gives a brief description of it; but I do not know what copy he had seen, if, indeed, his description implies the seeing of one.

Recently there has come up in Ohio a question as to the locality of "Standing Stone," which is mentioned in old deeds and other documents, and neither Mr. Baldwin nor any other could decide the position of this "Standing Stone." I think the matter pertains to county lines, and is before the courts. I was addressed to settle the question if I could; and I found the name, and a minute indication of the "Stone," in this map, on an affluent of the Muskingum River, in the southeast corner of the State. I sent a sketch of this part of the map, and in return got a request for a photograph of the entire map. With this request I complied, and I have had an extra impression made, which I now give to the Society.

It is somewhat smaller than the original, but the reduction does not obscure any legend upon it. There are two points in the map — one political, and the other geographical — which are worth noticing. Jefferson's Ordinance of 1784 provided for the marking out of several new States in this region, and he applied some fanciful names to these political divisions. The project was not consummated, and this map shows the proposed bounds of these prospective States. The other point is the bad mapping of Lake Superior, which is very much inferior to that of the Jesuit map of the lake published in Paris in 1671. It proves that Hutchins, who of all Americans should have known of that Jesuit map, was wholly ignorant of it, as was probably every one, then and for some years

afterward, of some of the best work in cartographical labors done in this western country by the early French traders and missionaries.

The business of the Annual Meeting was then taken up, and Mr. ROGER WOLCOTT submitted the report of the Council.

Report of the Council.

The year now ended opened with two vacancies in our list of Resident Members. This number has been increased to four during the year by the death of Augustus Thorndike Perkins and of James Russell Lowell, — the one a cultivated and accomplished gentleman, whose presence possessed singular attraction through its characteristic trait of manly courtesy; the other easily taking rank among the foremost men of letters of the world, and not less worthy to be held in honorable memory because of his pure and burning patriotism. There have been elected as Resident Members, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., Henry Pickering Walcott, and John Fiske. We thus enter upon the new year with but one vacancy in our roll of Resident Membership.

Of Corresponding Members we have lost by death the following: Benson J. Lossing, Lyman C. Draper, Richard Henry Major, Edmond de Pressensé, Thomas B. Akins, Benjamin Scott, Thomas Hill, E. Edwards Beardsley, John Gilmary Shea, George W. Cullum.

Of our Honorary Members we have lost since our last monthly meeting, Edward A. Freeman.

No action has been taken during the year to make good these losses, partly, perhaps, through the feeling that in the past the Society has unduly extended the list of Corresponding Members, and the resolve that in the future the honor of membership should be more restricted.

On the motion of one of its members the Council has given much thought to devising some more systematic method to govern the presentation to the Society of candidates for election. It was felt that the selection of one among the many whose names appear upon our nominating-list — most or all of whom are presumably possessed of sufficient qualifications for membership — had been occasionally determined by chance or friendship, and a natural unwillingness to oppose the wish

of others. It was to eliminate so far as possible this personal or accidental element, and to make certain that every nomination hereafter made by the Council shall have been carefully considered from various points of view, and shall bear some definite relation to previous and subsequent nominations, that the Council adopted the report of a sub-committee on the subject, which was afterward communicated to the Society and received its approval. It is therefore necessary only to refer to its substance here. While recognizing that pre-eminent fitness may at any time justify an exception to the method it prescribes, and disclaiming any wish to fetter by hard and fast rules the action of Council or Society, the report provides that in October of each year a sub-committee of the Council shall consider and report a list of ten names as candidates; that these names, as vacancies occur, shall be acted upon by the Council in the order in which they stand, except for cause shown, and that in the decision both of sub-committee and of Council the determining considerations shall be, first (but to a limited degree only), locality of residence within the State, so that the Society may not cease to be a Massachusetts Society; secondly, the possession of historical acquirements, so that the Society may not cease to be an Historical Society; and, thirdly (but again within strict limits), the recognition justly due to broad and liberal culture, generous public spirit, and to such social or official standing as may be won by adequate talents worthily employed. It should not be impossible for Mæcenas to win an occasional smile from Clio as well as from other of the sisterhood.

The Council ventures to call attention to what appears to be the growing custom of members to submit communications at our monthly meetings without reading them, and with only a request that they appear in the printed Proceedings. This may sometimes be necessary where long monographs are presented, or papers bristling with lists of names or figures, and such papers are often of the greatest value; but even in these cases an abstract might often be presented orally which should bring the subject vividly before the attention of the Society, and would very frequently be the means of throwing new illumination upon it through discussion and suggestion. To enrich posterity by contributions of permanent historical value, is without doubt one of the purposes for which the Society

exists; but the Council deems that a duty of equal obligation rests upon officers and members alike to neglect no effort to make our monthly meetings so vitally interesting as to compel a large attendance.

The Council would say a word to correct an impression which may exist among our own members or elsewhere that the funds of the Society are amply sufficient for all its purposes. This is certainly not the case. It is not difficult to see many directions in which larger funds might be wisely expended, and are indeed imperatively needed if the Society is to continue to be the principal depository of historical material in New England, and the foremost agency in preserving it and in rendering it available for future historical students. With the present means at our disposal this material cannot be made most easily accessible; it cannot receive by purchase such liberal and necessary additions as are from time to time offered at public sale, and which we have long been perforce content to see borne off by individuals or other libraries. Except by gift we can hope to increase but very slowly our collection of manuscripts, which from their inestimable value as sources of history, and from their unique and perishable character, it should be pre-eminently the duty of an historical society to collect and preserve; nor can we hope to accomplish much in carrying out the excellent suggestion embodied in last year's report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet, that from time to time uniform copies should be made of valuable unprinted manuscripts wherever they exist, with the purpose both of preserving the originals from wear and tear and of facilitating reference to the copies. For these and many other purposes more ample funds are much needed.

The publications of the Society since our last annual meeting have been as follows:—

Proceedings, 2d series, Vol. VI., 1890, 1891.

Also a serial number of the same volume (April and May, 1891), and two of Vol. VII., 2d series (October, 1891, to February, 1892).

The following have been the publications of members of the Society:—

History of Braintree, Massachusetts (1639–1708), the North Precinct of Braintree (1708–1792), and the Town of Quincy (1792–1889). By Charles Francis Adams.

Positive Pedigrees and Authorized Arms of New England. By William S. Appleton.

The Family of Merriam of Massachusetts. By William S. Appleton.

Three Essays on the History, Religion, and Art of Ancient Egypt. By Martin Brimmer.

Laws of the United States relating to Currency, Finance, and Banking, from 1789 to 1891. Compiled by Charles F. Dunbar.

Recollections and Impressions, 1822-1890. By Octavius B. Frothingham.

The Present and Future of Harvard College. Address delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, Mass., 25 June, 1891. By William W. Goodwin.

Groton Historical Series: Nos. II. to VI. of Vol. III. By Samuel A. Green.

An Account of the Lawyers of Groton, Massachusetts. With an Appendix. By Samuel A. Green.

The Story of Massachusetts. By Edward Everett Hale. [The Story of the States, Vol. VIII. Edited by Elbridge S. Brooks.]

Richard Henry Dana. By Hamilton A. Hill.

Charles Devens, Henry M. Dexter, Edward I. Thomas. By George F. Hoar.

Government in Canada and the United States compared. By George F. Hoar.

Will of Charles Hoare, of Gloucester, England. With Notes by George F. Hoar.

Historic Towns: Boston. By Henry Cabot Lodge. Edited by Edward A. Freeman.

Speeches by Henry Cabot Lodge.

American Statesmen Series. Edited by John T. Morse, Jr. Lewis Cass. By Andrew C. McLaughlin.

The Public Libraries of Massachusetts. By Henry S. Nourse.

The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated by Charles Eliot Norton. Vols. I., II.

Internal Token of Authorship in the Fourth Gospel. By Andrew P. Peabody.

The Life and Times of Plato. By Andrew P. Peabody.

Slavery as it appeared to a Northern Man in 1844. By Andrew P. Peabody.

American Commonwealths. Edited by Horace E. Scudder. Vermont: a Study of Independence. By Rowland E. Robinson.

Diocese of Massachusetts: the Enrichment of its Library. By Edmund F. Slafer.

Christopher Columbus, and how he received and imparted the Spirit of Discovery. By Justin Winsor.

ROGER WOLCOTT,

Senior Member at Large of the Council.

In the absence of Mr. James M. Bugbee, Chairman of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet, Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES read their report:—

Report of the Committee on the Library and Cabinet.

The Committee appointed to examine the Library and Cabinet have attended to that duty and submit the following report:—

The provision of the By-Laws under which this report is made went into operation for the first time in 1889. In the three reports presented since that date, a number of valuable recommendations and suggestions have been made with a view to enlarging and making more accessible the collections of the Society. The ground has been so fully covered that this Committee find little to add to what has already been offered.

The Librarian has shown excellent judgment in the use of the small amount of money placed at his disposal for purchasing books, completing sets of documents and files of newspapers, and repairing and binding volumes which could not be used without danger of becoming mutilated. He would be glad to do more, especially in the way of binding the complete files of newspapers, and repairing the broken bindings of old volumes, as soon as an appropriation of money can be made for that purpose.

The suggestion offered by the Committee of last year, that our valuable collection of manuscripts should be more carefully preserved, and made more accessible to members of the Society and others interested in historical studies, seems to this Committee well worth repeating. Something, it is true, has been accomplished during the past year towards making this collection better known and more convenient for reference; but much remains to be done.

A fairly good card catalogue of the manuscripts, and of their contents, has recently been completed. The Trumbull papers, which are among the most important of our collections, have been substantially calendared and indexed; and it is understood that the original papers are all to be printed as the means for so doing are available. The calendar of the Pickering papers has been completed, and would, if printed, make two large volumes with double columns.

Of the other manuscripts in the Society's collections, it is said by those who have examined them that there are probably none that are suitable to be calendared. But some of them, at least, are not in such a state as to be used for frequent reference without injury. All manuscripts in that condition should be copied; and it seems to your Committee that there is no object to which the available funds of the Society could be more usefully applied.

The Committee take pleasure in commending the general administration of the Library and the Cabinet, and in recognizing the great obligations of the Society to Dr. Samuel A. Green and Dr. Fitch Edward Oliver for their long, valuable, and disinterested services. The Librarian's assistants, Mr. Julius H. Tuttle and Mr. Alfred B. Page, are also entitled to commendation for the faithful and efficient performance of their duties.

JAMES M. BUGBEE.
A. LAWRENCE LOWELL.
HENRY W. HAYNES.

Boston, April 14, 1892.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Librarian, submitted his report as follows:—

Report of the Librarian.

During the past year there have been added to the Library:—

Books	549
Pamphlets	1,485
Unbound volumes of newspapers	22
Broadsides	100
Maps	8
Volumes of manuscripts	4
Manuscripts	96
In all	2,264

Of the books added, 438 have been given, 109 bought, and 2 obtained by exchange. Of the pamphlets added, 1,311 have been given, 168 bought, and 6 procured by exchange.

From the income of the Savage Fund, there have been bought 109 volumes and 168 pamphlets; and 21 volumes have been bound at the charge of the same fund.

From the income of the William Winthrop Fund, 56 volumes have been bound.

Of the books added to the Rebellion Department, 26 have been given and 41 bought; and of the pamphlets added, 32 have been given and 22 bought. There are now in this collection, 1,923 volumes, 4,594 pamphlets, 787 broadsides, and 105 maps.

In the collection of manuscripts there are 742 volumes, 161 unbound volumes, 75 pamphlets with manuscript notes, and 7,113 manuscripts.

The Library contains at the present time about 35,700 volumes, including the files of bound newspapers, the bound manuscripts, and the Dowse Collection. The number of pamphlets, including duplicates, is 92,630; and the number of broadsides, including duplicates, is 3,626.

During the year there have been taken out, 73 books and 7 pamphlets, and all have been returned.

Respectfully submitted,

SAMUEL A. GREEN, *Librarian*.

Boston, April 14, 1892.

Dr. FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, Cabinet-keeper, read his annual report:—

Report of the Cabinet-keeper.

The Cabinet-keeper begs respectfully to report that the following articles, a detailed list of which is given below, have been presented to the Cabinet during the past year:—

Twenty-one photographs.

Several heliotypes, comprising a collection of views in Dedham.

A treasurer's note of the State of Massachusetts Bay for £15, dated June 1, 1779, in payment of a prize of the Massachusetts State Lottery, — Class the Third.

Three engravings.

Copies of three Dutch medals.

Two lithographs.

One albertype.

Three autotypes.

One carved wooden goblet.

One pike-head, said to have been picked up on one of the battlefields after the late Civil War.

The detailed list is as follows : —

A photograph by Baldwin Coolidge, in 1888, of an interior view of the Webster House, Marshfield, showing articles supposed once to belong to Peregrine White. Given by Baldwin Coolidge.

A photograph of the antlers of a moose, taken from those owned by the Society, by Baldwin Coolidge, April, 1891. Given by Baldwin Coolidge.

Eighteen photographic views taken in Salem by the Moulton Erickson Company. Given by the Essex Institute.

A collection of heliotype views from photographs taken in Dedham in the spring of 1891. Given by Donald Ramsay.

A heliotype of the fireplace in the library of the Dedham Historical Society, from a photograph taken in September, 1891. Given by the Dedham Historical Society.

A heliotype of Marquis de Lafayette. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A photograph of an oil painting of Jonathan Belcher in the Society's Library, taken by J. W. Black, Sept. 24, 1891. Given by J. Wells.

A treasurer's note of the State of Massachusetts Bay for £15, in payment of a prize of the Massachusetts State Lottery, Class the Third, dated June 1, 1779. Given by William Henry Smith.

A half-tone picture of Robert Bailey Thomas, made for the centennial number of the "Old Farmer's Almanac" for 1892, from a painting in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, 1891. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

A pike-head found on a battlefield. Given by Dr. Robert Battey, of Rome, Georgia.

An engraving of Robert Bennet Forbes, by J. A. J. Wilcox. Given by J. Murray Forbes.

Copies of three Dutch medals struck to commemorate the Independence of the United States, 1782, and the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation with the Netherlands signed the same year. Given by Samuel R. Thayer, American Minister at the Hague.

A lithographic view of the residence of Stephen Robbins in Lexington, and a woodcut of the "Follen Church" and residence of Dr. Charles Follen. Given by Miss Ellen Adelia Stone.

An albertype of Augustus P. Martin, by the Forbes Company, Boston. Given by Dr. Samuel A. Green.

Three autotypes made in New York, 1891, — two of Ebenezer and Mrs. Hazard, after portraits by Du Vivier in 1796, in possession of the family; and one of Mr. Hazard, after a portrait painted in 1816. Given by Willis Pope Hazard, Westchester, Pennsylvania.

A lithographic view of the United States Frigate "Constitution,"

by James Kidder, after a drawing by William Marsh, Jr. Given by Miss Ellen Adelia Stone.

A carved wooden goblet. Bequeathed by Dr. Buckminster Brown.

Engravings of Rev. Joseph Sewall and Rev. George W. Blagden. Given by Hamilton A. Hill.

It may be added that there is nothing in the present condition of the Cabinet that requires special notice.

Respectfully submitted,

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER, *Cabinet-keeper.*

Boston, April 14, 1892.

The reports of the Treasurer and the Auditing Committee were submitted in print. They are as follows:—

Report of the Treasurer.

In compliance with the requirements of the By-Laws, Chapter VII., Article 1, the Treasurer respectfully submits his Annual Report, made up to March 31, 1892.

The special funds held by him are the same as they were at the date of his last Annual Report. They are eleven in number, and are as follows:—

I. THE APPLETON FUND, which was created Nov. 18, 1854, by a gift to the Society, from Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, and Nathaniel I. Bowditch, trustees under the will of the late Samuel Appleton, of stocks of the appraised value of ten thousand dollars. These stocks were subsequently sold for \$12,203, at which sum the fund now stands. The income is applicable to "the procuring, preserving, preparation, and publication of historical papers."

II. THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL TRUST-FUND, which now stands, with the accumulated income, at \$10,000. This fund originated in a gift of two thousand dollars from the late Hon. David Sears, presented Oct. 15, 1855, and accepted by the Society Nov. 8, 1855. On Dec. 26, 1866, it was increased by a gift of five hundred dollars from Mr. Sears, and another of the same amount from our late associate, Mr. Nathaniel Thayer. The income must be appropriated in accordance with the directions in Mr. Sears's declaration of trust in the printed Proceedings for November, 1855.

III. THE DOWSE FUND, which was given to the Society by George Livermore and Eben. Dale, executors of the will of the late Thomas Dowse, April 9, 1857, for the "safe keeping" of the Dowse Library. It amounts to \$10,000.

IV. THE PEABODY FUND, which was presented by the late George Peabody, in a letter dated Jan. 1, 1867, and now stands at \$22,123. The income is available only for the publication and illustration of the Society's Proceedings and Memoirs, and for the preservation of the Society's Historical Portraits.

V. THE SAVAGE FUND, which was a bequest from the late Hon. James Savage, received in June, 1873, and now stands on the books at the sum of \$6,000. The income is to be used for the increase of the Society's Library.

VI. THE ERASTUS B. BIGELOW FUND, which was given in February, 1881, by Mrs. Helen Bigelow Merriman, in recognition of her father's interest in the work of the Society. The original sum was one thousand dollars; but the interest up to this date having been added to the principal, it now stands at \$1,861.28. There is no restriction as to the use to be made of this fund.

VII. THE WILLIAM WINTHROP FUND, which amounts to the sum of \$3,000, and was received Oct. 13, 1882, under the will of the late William Winthrop, for many years a Corresponding Member of the Society. The income is to be applied "to the binding for better preservation of the valuable manuscripts and books appertaining to the Society."

VIII. THE RICHARD FROTHINGHAM FUND, which represents a gift to the Society, on the 23d of March, 1883, from the widow of our late Treasurer, of a certificate of twenty shares in the Union Stock Yard and Transit Co., of Chicago, of the par value of \$100 each, and of the stereotype plates of Mr. Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," "Life of Joseph Warren," and "Rise of the Republic." The fund stands on the Treasurer's books at \$3,000, exclusive of the copyright. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

IX. THE GENERAL FUND, which now amounts to \$8,000. It represents the following gifts and payments to the Society:

1. A gift of two thousand dollars from the residuary estate of the late MARY PRINCE TOWNSEND, by the executors of her

will, William Minot and William Minot, Jr., in recognition of which, by a vote of the Society, passed June 13, 1861, the Treasurer was "directed to make and keep a special entry in his account books of this contribution as the donation of Miss Mary P. Townsend."

2. A legacy of two thousand dollars from the late HENRY HARRIS, received in July, 1867.

3. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late GEORGE BEMIS, received in March, 1879.

4. A gift of one hundred dollars from the late RALPH WALDO EMERSON, received in April, 1881.

5. A legacy of one thousand dollars from the late WILLIAMS LATHAM, received in May, 1884.

6. A bequest of five shares in the Cincinnati Gas-Light and Coke Co. from our late Recording Secretary, GEORGE DEXTER, received in June, 1884.

7. Six commutation fees of one hundred and fifty dollars each.

X. THE ANONYMOUS FUND, which originated in a gift of \$1,000 to the Society in April, 1887, communicated in a letter to the Treasurer printed in the Proceedings (2d series, vol. iii. pp. 277, 278). A further gift of \$250 was received from the same generous friend in April, 1888. The income up to the present time has been added to the principal. The fund now stands at \$1,611.10.

XI. THE WILLIAM AMORY FUND, which was a gift of \$3,000, under the will of our associate, the late WILLIAM AMORY, received Jan. 7, 1889. There are no restrictions on the uses to which the income may be applied.

The Treasurer also holds a deposit book in the Five Cent Savings Bank for \$100 and interest, which is applicable to the care and preservation of the beautiful model of the Brattle Street Church, deposited with us in April, 1877.

It should not be forgotten that besides the gifts and bequests represented by these funds, which the Treasurer is required to take notice of in his Annual Report, numerous gifts have been made to the Society from time to time, and expended for the purchase of the real estate, or in promoting the objects for which the Society was organized. A detailed account of these gifts was included in the Annual Report of the Treasurer, dated March 31, 1887, printed in the Proceedings (2d series,

vol. iii. pp. 291-296); and in the list of the givers there enumerated will be found the names of many honored associates, living or departed, and of other gentlemen, not members of the Society, who were interested in the promotion of historical studies. They gave liberally in the day of small things; and to them the Society is largely indebted for its present prosperity and usefulness.

During the year the seven per cent bonds of the Boston and Albany Railroad Company, to the amount of \$21,000, which had been held for the Peabody Fund since 1874, matured and were paid off. As the rate of income which can be derived from any securities such as this Society can safely hold has very much declined since that time, it has been thought best to merge with the general investments held for our various funds, the securities bought for reinvestment, and to credit, in future, to the Income of the Peabody Fund its proportional part of the Consolidated Income.

Since the mortgage on the Society's building was finally extinguished in July, 1886, the Treasurer has been able to continue without interruption the reinvestment of the funds which had been temporarily invested in the building. The amount thus invested is \$9,964.17, against \$16,990.94 last year, a reduction of \$7,026.77 during the year. The investments stand on the books at \$70,831.21, their actual cost; but when the whole sum has been reinvested, it will be the duty of whoever may then be Treasurer to charge off from time to time a sufficient sum to reduce all stocks and bonds to their par value, with a view to the gradual increase of the income apportioned to each fund. The amount applied to the reinvestment of our permanent funds has been considerably increased by the circumstance that the largest part of the bills for printing the Collections and Proceedings will not be due until some time in the next financial year; but it is not probable that there will be on this account any reduction next year in the amount usually available for reinvestment.

The stocks and bonds held by the Treasurer are as follows: \$10,000 in the five per cent mortgage bonds of the Chicago and West Michigan Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Rio Grande Western Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent bonds of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the five per cent gold bonds of the

Cincinnati, Dayton, and Ironton Railroad Co.; \$5,000 in the four per cent general mortgage bonds of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé Railroad Co., and \$3,000 in the income bonds of the same corporation; \$1,000 in a five per cent collateral trust bond of the Chicago Junction Railways and Union Stock Yard Co.; fifty shares in the Merchants' National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the State National Bank of Boston; fifty shares in the National Bank of Commerce of Boston; thirty-eight shares in the National Union Bank of Boston; sixteen shares in the Columbian National Bank of Boston; five shares in the Second National Bank of Boston; twenty-five shares in the Boston and Albany Railroad Co.; twenty-five shares in the Old Colony Railroad Co.; five shares in the Cincinnati Gas Light and Coke Co.; five shares in the Cincinnati Electric Light Co. (of a par value of \$5 each); and one share in the Boston Real Estate Trust (of the par value of \$1,000).

The following abstracts and the trial balance show the present condition of the several accounts:—

CASH ACCOUNT.

1891.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance on hand		\$185.27
1892.			
March 31.	To receipts as follows:—		
	General Account	10,909.87	
	Investments	22,493.00	
	Consolidated Income	2,630.38	
	Income of Peabody Fund	1,672.49	
	Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	19.60	
			<u>\$37,910.61</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$625.00
1892.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By payments as follows:—		
	Investments	\$29,682.89	
	Income of Peabody Fund	820.40	
	Income of Savage Fund	392.93	
	Income of William Winthrop Fund	105.55	
	Income of Appleton Fund	1,022.25	
	Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	81.58	
	Income of General Fund	1,359.00	
	Consolidated Income	148.41	
	General Account	3,672.60	
	By balance on hand	625.00	
			<u>\$37,910.61</u>

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

1891.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward		\$1,458.28
1892.			
March 31.	To sundry payments :—		
	Salaries of Librarian's Assistants	2,600.00	
	Repairing roof and walls	179.13	
	Printing, stationery, and postage	216.21	
	Fuel and light	189.79	
	Care of fire, etc.	315.74	
	Miscellaneous expenses and repairs	171.73	
	Consolidated Income	822.89	
	Building Account	7,026.77	
			<u>\$12,980.54</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down		\$1,492.59

1892.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By sundry receipts :—		
	Rent of Building	\$9,000.00	
	Interest	30.97	
	Income of Dowse Fund	502.46	
	Admission Fees	50.00	
	Assessments	1,020.00	
	Sales of publications	884.52	
	By balance to new account	1,492.59	
			<u>\$12,980.54</u>

Income of Appleton Fund.

1892.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for editing Collections	\$1,000.00	
	„ „ „ for heliotype	22.25	
	„ balance carried forward	1,889.65	
			<u>\$2,911.90</u>

1891.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$2,298.75	
1892.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	613.15	
			<u>\$2,911.90</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down		\$1,889.65

Income of William Winthrop Fund.

1892.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for binding	\$105.55	
	„ balance carried forward	88.77	
			<u>\$189.32</u>

CREDITS.		
1891.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$38.58
1892.		
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	150.74
		<u>\$189.32</u>
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$33.77

Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund.

DEBITS.		
1891.		
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$587.58
1892.		
March 31.	„ amount paid for printing	81.58
		<u>\$669.16</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$168.70

CREDITS.		
1892.		
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$502.46
	„ balance carried forward	166.70
		<u>\$669.16</u>

Income of Richard Frothingham Fund.

CREDITS.		
1891.		
March 31.	By balance brought forward	\$1,257.01
1892.		
March 31.	„ copyright received	19.60
	„ proportion of consolidated income	160.74
		<u>\$1,427.35</u>
March 31.	By amount brought down	\$1,427.35

Income of Dowsse Fund.

DEBITS.		
1892.		
March 31.	To amount placed to credit of General Account	\$502.46

CREDITS.		
1892.		
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$502.46

Income of Peabody Fund.

DEBITS.		
1891.		
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$3,545.18
1892.		
March 31.	„ amount paid for printing and binding	798.40
	„ „ „ „ repairs of paintings	22.00
		<u>\$4,365.53</u>
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$2,828.02

1892.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By interest on railroad bonds	\$1,844.74	
	„ interest from Savings Bank	327.75	
	„ proportion of consolidated income	365.02	
	„ balance carried forward	2,328.02	
		<u>\$4,865.53</u>	

Income of General Fund.

1892.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To amount paid for editing Proceedings	\$1,000.00	
	„ „ „ „ printing	885.00	
	„ „ „ „ heliotyping	24.00	
	„ balance carried forward	698.16	
		<u>\$2,052.16</u>	

1891.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By amount brought forward	\$1,650.20	
1892.			
March 31.	„ proportion of consolidated income	401.96	
		<u>\$2,052.16</u>	
March 31.	By balance brought down	\$698.16	

Income of Savage Fund.

1891.		DEBITS.	
March 31.	To balance brought forward	\$3.02	
1892.			
March 31.	„ amount paid for books	468.55	
		<u>\$471.57</u>	
March 31.	To balance brought down	\$170.10	

1892.		CREDITS.	
March 31.	By proportion of consolidated income	\$301.47	
	„ balance carried forward	170.10	
		<u>\$471.57</u>	

TRIAL BALANCE.

		DEBITS.	
Cash		\$625.00	
Real Estate		108,280.19	
Investments		70,881.21	
Income of Peabody Fund		2,328.02	
Income of Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund		166.70	
Income of Savage Fund		170.10	
General Account		1,492.59	
		<u>\$178,893.81</u>	

CREDITS.

Building Account	\$98,479.96
Appleton Fund	12,208.00
Dowse Fund	10,000.00
Massachusetts Historical Trust-Fund	10,000.00
Peabody Fund	22,123.00
Savage Fund	6,000.00
Erastus B. Bigelow Fund	1,861.28
William Winthrop Fund	3,000.00
Richard Frothingham Fund	8,000.00
General Fund	8,000.00
Anonymous Fund	1,611.10
William Amory Fund	8,000.00
Income of Appleton Fund	1,889.65
Income of William Winthrop Fund	83.77
Income of Richard Frothingham Fund	1,427.35
Income of General Fund	693.16
Income of William Amory Fund	521.54
	<u>\$178,893.81</u>

During the year the Society has published one volume of Proceedings ; and about two thirds of another volume of Proceedings are now in print. The volume will not, however, be ready for distribution before the autumn. A volume of Collections, comprising the Correspondence of Wait Winthrop, will be published in a few weeks.

CHARLES C. SMITH, *Treasurer.*

Boston, March 31, 1892.

Report of the Auditing Committee.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as made up to March 31, 1892, have attended to that duty, and report that they find them correctly kept and properly vouched ; that the securities held by the Treasurer for the several funds correspond with the statement in his Annual Report ; that the balance of cash on hand is satisfactorily accounted for ; and that the Trial Balance is accurately taken from the Ledger.

ABBOTT LAWRENCE, } *Committee.*
ARTHUR LORD, }

Boston, April 8, 1892.

Mr. ROGER WOLCOTT, from the Nominating Committee, presented the following list of names for the several offices.

All of the gentlemen named were elected by ballot, by unanimous votes:—

President.

GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS.

Vice-Presidents.

FRANCIS PARKMAN.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

Recording Secretary.

EDWARD JAMES YOUNG.

Corresponding Secretary.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Treasurer.

CHARLES CARD SMITH.

Librarian.

SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.

Cabinet-keeper.

FITCH EDWARD OLIVER.

Members at Large of the Council.

EDWARD JACKSON LOWELL.
EDWARD GRIFFIN PORTER.
HENRY FITCH JENKS.
HORACE ELISHA SCUDDER.
SOLOMON LINCOLN.

Voted, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Messrs. Roger Wolcott and Edward Bangs, retiring members of the Council, for their valuable services as members of that body.

A new serial of the Proceedings, covering the meetings in December, 1891, and January and February, 1892, was ready for distribution at this meeting.

After the adjournment the members and a few invited guests lunched with the President at his residence, 110 Marlborough Street.

MAY MEETING, 1892.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 12th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting and of the list of donors to the Library, the President announced the death, on the 5th instant, of George H. Moore, LL.D., of New York, who was elected a Corresponding Member in June, 1859, and had often attended the meetings of the Society, and exhibited a special interest in the history of Massachusetts.

The President then presented, as a gift to the Library from Mr. Edwin Forbes Waters, a copy of Nathaniel Ames's "Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for the Year of our Lord Christ, 1762," containing on the blank pages a diary of Rev. Eli Forbes, D.D., then of Brookfield, Mass.¹ The diary contains an account of a visit to the Tuscarora Indians in the summer of that year, and is as follows:—

Memorandum for y^e year 1762.

JANUARY.

1. Meriam Barnes died about 12 at night; taken not well.
2. Lent my slay to Roger Willinton. Wrote a sermon for N. Year.
3. Preachd A. M. from Ps. 77: 10, 11, 12. P. M. not well. No preaching.

¹ Eli Forbes was the youngest son of Deacon Jonathan Forbes, and was born in Westborough, Mass., Oct. 5, 1726. While preparing to enter college, at the age of eighteen, he enlisted as a volunteer, and served for a short time in the French and Indian War. In July, 1747, he entered Harvard College, from which he graduated with high rank in 1751. In June of the following year he was ordained minister of the Second Parish in Brookfield. In 1758 and 1759 he served as a chaplain in the provincial regiments under the command of Colonel Ruggles. In the summer and early autumn of 1762 he made the missionary journey described in the diary now printed. On the breaking out of hostilities between the Colonies and the mother country, he was unjustly charged with being a Tory; and in March, 1776, he was dismissed from his pulpit. In the following June he was installed over the First Parish in Gloucester, where he died Dec. 15, 1804. In that year he had received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Harvard College. During his long ministry he printed several occasional sermons, and also a volume of eleven miscellaneous discourses. See Sprague's *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. i. pp. 493-495; Babson's *History of Gloucester*, pp. 402-407.



1892.]

DIARY OF REV. ELI FORBES.

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4. Visited Ichabod How sic. Mr. Fisk attended funeral of Meriam Barnes. Visited me. Began to recover my health. Remain unwell all y^e week ; nothing besides remarkable.

10. Preached at home A. M. 7 & 8 Com^d P. M. from Heb. 3. 1.

11. Visited by Mrs. Baldwin and mother, by Dr. Rice, &c.

12. Visited by Mrs. Gilbert and Mrs. Patty Wheat.

13. Visited by Mrs. Willard, Parsons, Scot. Mrs. Forbes got into tother room. I visited Ichabod How sic.

14. Visited Mrs. Ob'd Rice. Ant Halloway went to Hardwick.

15. Widow Wight went home after having stayed 17 days.

16. Sam^l Willard went home with my horse.

17. Preached at home A. M. from y^e ix Comand^t and P. M. Heb. 3 : 1. Puld two teeth for Mrs. Adams. Visited Mrs. J. Hinckley's child.

18. Wrote to Mrs. Winter, Joseph Bowman, by Bill Perkins.

19. Sam^l Willard returned. Bro^t two letters with him.

20. Read chiefly. Nothing remarkable.

21. Visited by Captain Dodge and Mrs. Joshua Dodge.

22. Wrote and visited Jonas Brewer's child sick.

23. Prepared for y^e Sabbath. Wrote an exposition on y^e 10 Com^t.

24. Preached at Home from y^e 10 Com^t A. M. ; from Heb. 3 : 1 P. M.

25. Visited Mrs. Rice and Jonas Brewer, — child better.

27. Settled with Deacⁿ Bigelow. Rec^d y^e remainder of sallery for 1761.

28. Rec^d 12 bushels of wheat of Tomⁿ Cheney, by Obⁿ Bart^t, and gave an order to Amiel Weeks in full for pork.

29. Wrote a sermon on Heb. iii : 1.

30. Wrote an exposition on y^e first paragraf^t of John.

31. Preached from 1 John v : 20, old sermon. Deliv'd y^e Exposⁿ.

FEBRUARY.

1. Did not visit as usual : stormy ; read chiefly.

2. Agreed with Abner How to take y^e remainder of Mr. Champney's farm after he had taken 30 acres.

3. Visited at Mr. Gilbert, Capⁿ Baldwin's with Mrs. Forbes. Paid Mrs. Stevens in full /8.

4. Visited (in y^e sley with Mrs. Forbes, Capⁿ Baldwin, mother and wife,) M^{rs} Amos Hamilton, M^{rs} Fish, Capⁿ Bucminster, M^{rs} Parsons.

5. Thaddy M^cCarty returned to be boarded and instructed.

6. Prepared for the Sabbath. Wrote an exposition on John 1 : 7.

7. Preached at home from John 1 : 7-14 A. M. and P. M. old sermon. Visited John Woolcot at evening. Baptized Sam. Hodgeman's ch^d.

8. Visited John Woolcot, Obed^t Rice and Sarah Adams, sick. Heard of y^e death of Brother Bowman.

9. Was visited by Capⁿ Witt and wife and several of y^e other Neigh^{rs}.
10. Visited Sister Baldwin with my wife, Molly and Eli.
11. Visited by Deaⁿ Worster, Capⁿ Sadler, Jos. Chadwick.
12. P^d John Willington for shoes by y^e hand of Ben. Wallton 8/10.
13. Prepared for the Sabbath; received a shote of Bro. Parkⁿ.
14. Preached from Heb. 3:1. P. M. Expound John 15-28.
15. Went to New Brantree. Dined with M^r Rug^s. Weatherby came and took away his cow.
16. Went to Daniel Gilberts and Aron Barnes to get one of them to keep my heifer. Ensign Barnes visited.
17. Wrote to fathor Parkman and Doct. Willard. Leut. Hinds finished getting my wood.
18. Wrote to Rev^d Maccarty. Rec^d of Benj. Adams interest. Borrowed of Capⁿ Baldwin eight dollars.
19. Molly went to Westborough with Sister Parkman. Sent by them three pistereens.
20. Prepared for y^e Sabbath. Nothing new.
21. Preached an old ser. Hosea 13:9. Expounded John i: 29-42.
22. Visited Capⁿ Woolcot. Sent my heifer to Aaron Barnes.
23. Made some assays in prosodie; constructed some rules.
24. Visited Lieut. Bothwell's wife; agreed to preach there y^e 2nd Tuesday in March, at 2 o'clock P. M.
25. Very cold. Did little besides reading some of Dr. Young's 3^d vol. Puld a tooth for And^r Kimble; received for two.
26. Wrote a sermon on Heb. 3:1-28. Finished expounding 1 chap. of John.
27. Joseph Bowman and Daniel Forbes, with his wife and child, came from Westborough on a visit.
28. Preached from Heb. 3:1. Expounded from John 1:43 ad finem.

MARCH.

1. Borrowed six dollars of Joseph Boman. Atended y^e funeral of Benj. Kimbal's child, aged 5 months. Kild a calf; Aaron Barnes assisted. Sister Parkman, Susanna Alex^r came from Westboro.
2. A very stormy day of snow; nothing new besides.
3. Preached a sacramental Lecture from John 13:13.
4. Visited Capⁿ Woolcot, — John Woolcot. Discoursed with his wife relating to her joining with y^e ch. Was satisfied.
5. Joseph Bowman returned from Hardwick. Wrote to Mr. Macarty by Daniel Forbes and wife.
6. Prepared for y^e Sabbath. Wrote an exposition on John ii: 1-12.
7. The sacrament put by bec'se of extreem weather. Preached an old sermon from Ps. 139:1. Y^e expositⁿ not preached.

8. Sent to mill. Had 1 bushel $\frac{1}{2}$ of wheat ground. Did not visit.
9. Preached a Lecture at Lieut. Bothwell's on act of offense.
11. Had a number of the Chh. together in order to heal an unhappy difficulty between y^m and others of y^e Chh.
12. Went to Mr. Champney's: got him some wood.
13. Wrote an Expⁿ on John ii: 12 *ad finem*.
14. Delivered y^e exposition, A. M. a sermon on religious zeal.
15. Parish meeting. Did not visit as usual.
16. Visited Ephraim Converse. Went to Mr. Fisks. Lodged at Esq. Forsters. Pd Deacon Rich.
17. Attended minister's meeting at Mr. Fisk's. Prayed in public. Mr. Ruggles preached. Returned. Our next meeting is at Mr. Jones, 3^d Wednesday in next June, when Mr. White is to make a *concio*, and if he fails yⁿ Mr. Jones. Y^e question is what is y^e most likely method to promote early piety. Sent my horse to Deacon Biglow.
18. Daniel and Sister Forbes came from Westborough, with salt.
19. Thaddy Macarty and Sam^l Willard went home, a visit.
20. Wrote a sermon on Exodus 32: 26. Settled several difficulties between contending Brethren.
21. Preached on Heb. iii: 1, A. M. and P. M. finished y^e text. Celebrated y^e ordinance of the Supper, and baptized Joseph Chadwick's son, called Bowman.
22. Journeyed towards Boston; dined at Mr. Maccartys. Received of Dr. Willard for instructing his son 19/4. Lodged at father Parkmans. Expenses on y^e way /10.
23. Journey still. Dined at Bryants. Expense pistareene. Lodged at uncle Samuel Parkman's.
24. Paid Edes & Gill 5/ for pamphlets; for shaving 4 copers.
25. Settled account with Deacon Grant. M^{rs} Winter had against me £5/14/4. P^d M^{rs} Kneeland for tea and sugar, bible and watch 12:0:3 old Ten^{ts}. Came out of Boston. P^d one coper for my ferry and 3 pistareenes for my horse. Lodged at Esq. Livemore's in Waltham.
26. Journey^d homeward. P^d 4/ for oats. Lodged at my father Forbes. P^d him six shillings interest.
27. Journey^d home. P^d /8 for Bowman's stockens; 4/ for oats and one coper for bates. Got home before night.
28. Preached in the A. M. from Ex. 32: 26. P. M. Romans 11: 26.
29. Did not visit as usual. Adjusted some accounts.
30. Visited Esq. Converse, M^r Rice. Pulld a tooth for Betty Biglow. Dea. Biglow took my horse to keep.
31. Got two hundred of hay of Daniel Gilbert. Moses Barnes son bro^t it to my barn. I went with Esq. Forster to Icabod How's to settle affairs between him and Leut. How.

APRIL.

1. Went to visit W^m Dorety, Esq. Converse and Moses Ayer. Received six dollars of Thomas Slayton which I p^d for him in Boston.
2. Prepared for y^e Sabbath. Read Styles Christian Union.
3. Wrote part of a sermon. Read Doddridge's Token Sermons.
4. Preached from Ex. 32 : 26 A. M., P. M.
5. Visited M^r Rice, Esq. Converse. M^r Ayers sick.
6. Read and begun my lecture sermon to young pp.
7. Finished my lecture sermon to young pp. Read some.
8. Preached to young pp. from Mat. vi : 33. Church voted to sing in public D^r Brady and M^r Tate's with M^r Watt's Songs and Hymns.
9. Wrote a sermon for the Sabbath.
10. Wrote another.
11. Preached A. M., P. M. from Ex. 32 : 26.
12. Carried my chair to Nat. Bartlett's. Visited Capⁿ Witt.
13. Began in my garden. Sowed various kinds of cabbage.
14. Went to M^m Champney's, Bartlett's, Brother's, Baldwin's.
15. Began my Fast sermon. Was much interrupted.
16. Wrote still for the Fast. Heard from Boston. Mission.
17. Prepared for y^e Sabbath. Finished upon Exodus 33 : 26.
18. Preached at home on y^e text above^d. Heard from Westborough.
19. Journey^d to Westborough. Spent on y^e way eight pence.
20. Visited Rev^d Parkman's. M^m Sarah and Sophia sick.
21. Visited my friends. Lodged at brother Daniels.
22. Returned from Westborough to Worcester.
23. Preached y^e Fast at Worcester from Prov. 14 : 24.
24. Returned to Brookfield. Spent P. M. in y^e garden.
25. Prepared for y^e Sabbath what I had proposd for y^e Fast.
26. Visited Capⁿ Witt, Leut. How, Baldwin, Gilbert, &c.
27. Spent chiefly in y^e garden. Went to Mr. Champney's.
28. Went to Esq. Ayers and y^e w^h Mr. Champney to Mr. Bartlet. They agreed to leave all y^e affairs to Capⁿ Witt, Esq. Ayers and Deacon Biglow, to be determined to-morrow.
29. Y^e above^d gentlemen attended and settled y^e affair. Went to Hardwick and preached a lecture from John 6 : 35. Reck'd with Deacⁿ Woods. Due to him for mett, 7. 8. 0 old ten.
30. Made some preparation for the Sabbath. Gave Mrs. Slayton an order upon y^e Treas^r for 3 pounds 6/8 —

MAY.

1. Prepared for y^e Sabbath. Sowed some garden seeds.
2. Preached all day from Jer. 2 : 19. Baptized John Woolcot's child.

3. Did not visit as usual, — no body being prayed for on y^e Sab.
4. Spent some time in my garden, in discoursing with my pp.
5. Planted my potatoes. Received of Thos Hardy £6:13:4, which is to be discounted on y^e bond I have agst him, if it is not necessary to be paid to Brother Parkman, as part of y^e four hundred wth Hardy is to pay him for his place, according to bargain.
6. Had a lecture. Rev^d Ruggles preached. I read a letter from y^e President of y^e Committee for Propagating y^e Gos. among y^e Western Tribes of Indians, and left it till next Tuesday night for them to object agst my complying with y^e Request.
7. Visited Esq. Converse and Witt, Taylor.
8. Prepared for the Sabbath.
9. Preached from John 1:29; P. M. from Prov. 30:12.
10. Paid M^r Walker for y^e Gilbert estate £6:12:0; and there remains due to him, as per note, 415:5:2, which is to be paid y^e first week in June.
11. Met y^e pp. to obtain of y^m leave to go a few months among the Western Tribes of Indians. Did not obtain. Messrs Cummings and Hestlop called.
12. Visited Deaⁿ Biglow and Capⁿ Witt. Obtained leave of y^m.
13. M^r Forbes and M^r Bowman set out for Boston.
14. Prepared for y^e Sabbath. Write one sermon from Luke 2:32.
15. Made another sermon from y^e same text.
16. Preached from y^e above text. Baptized Thos Hardy's child.
17. Journey^d towards Boston. Lodged at Worcester.
18. Set forward. Lodged at Westborough. Visited my friends
19. Continued. Reached Boston. Lodged at M^r Parkmans.
20. Attended y^e Public Lecture and waited upon y^e Com^{rs}.
21. Rec^d money of D^r Chauncy. Prepared for to journey.
22. Dined with M^r Adams, concluded to tarry y^e Sabbath.
23. Preached A. M. for M^r Cooper, and P. M. for M^r Eliot.
24. Journey^d homeward. Parted with M^r Forbes at Brookline.
25. Arrived safe at my own house. Found all well.
26. Made some preparation for my journey to y^e Indians.
28. Married Joshua Draper and y^e Widow Sarah Wright.
29. Reckned and ballenced all accounts with Capⁿ Baldwin. Prepared for y^e Sabbath. Settled accounts with Deacon Biglow, Benj. Adama, Joseph Bartlett, J^c Chadwick, John Willington, John Pearson, Brother Parkman.
30. M^r Barnes preached A. M. I preached P. M. Obtained a vote of y^e pp. for my going a Journey to Oneguagua.
31. Bought a horse of Adoniram Bartlett for Patty. P^d 4:6:8; to Pearson 3/9; to Ephraim Walker 4:16:0. Gave an order upon

Brother Parkman to Joseph Gilbert for two pounds, being part of my account with him.

JUNE.

1. Set out my journey. Oated at Shaw's p^d 0/8. Dined at Scots p^d 2/4; for tea and oats at Lambs and persons 1/2. Lodged at M^r Brecks.

2. Dined at M^r Mosly's 2/7 Lodged at M^{rs} Clarks, 6/5.

3. Went forward; dined at Jackson's, 3/3; lodged at Rev^d Hopkins.

4. Tarried at M^r Hopkins for M^r Gun who came at evening. Lodged at M^r Hopkins again. Patty went to M^r Deans.

5. Went with M^r Hopkins to Stockbridge: returned.

6. Preached for M^r Hopkins from Luke 2:32.

7. Journeyed from Sheffield to Albany. Sent [spent?] on y^e way a pistareene for my din^r, and to Betty Hopkins a pistareene. And at Venburrans 6/6; at Fitches 2/0. Gave to James Dean for saying y^e Lord's prayer in Indian 1/6.

8. Went over to y^e city. Wrote home to D^r Chauncy and M^{rs} Forbes. Waited [on] Gen^l Johnson, M^r Sanders. Engaged him to make all provision for our Journey. Expended for ferrage for myself, M^r Rice and y^e lad 1/8, and for a handkerchief I bought for James Dean 3/6.

9. Spent y^e day in reading. M^r Gun sick.

	York.
P ^d for M ^r Gun, himself and horse	£1:11:6
Delivered to him at M ^r Sanders 6. D.	2: 8:0
and paid for him at Mr. Sanders	14:11:7½
P ^d also at Green Bush our own exp ^t	2: 6:6
for Dean lodgings, horse, &c.	0: 5:0
for our own horses	0:16:0
P ^d to M ^r Sanders 24 dollars	9:09:0
P ^d nine Dollars to D ^r Rice	8:12:0
Sealing wax, wafers and quills 3/9	0: 3:9
Expenses to Schanectada	0: 3:0
Paid to y ^e waggoner for bringing baggage	0:16:0
For Corderii and 3 Primers 5/6	0: 5:6
Expenses for y ^e lads to Albany	2:18:9
P ^d for ferrage 3/—	0: 3:0
Reached Schanectada; put up at Cap ⁿ Ogdens. Went 8 miles above Schenectada. P ^d at and on y ^e way 2/ for	
Block Bell for D ^r Rice: for our lodgings and breakfast	0:19:6
For M ^r Gun and wife at y ^e same	0: 3:2
for an English cheese	1:11:6
for an empty trunk and case	0:18:6
and for a din ^r and horses	0: 7:6
and for James Dean's din ^r	0: 1:0

11. Pas'd from Schenectada. Lodged at Uriah Wrights.
12. Delivered to Elisha Gun 3 dollars, and left him to pay y^e reckoning, w^h was nineteen shillings. We came on to Cherry Valley. In our way expended only 3/. Lodged at Capⁿ Wells; received hospitably.
13. Preached at Cherry valley p. m.; D^r Rice a. m.
14. Dined at M^r Martins; returned and Lodged at Capⁿ Wells.
15. P^d for gun to Capⁿ Fry 34/. To Jerumners [Jeremiah's?] 16/, to Camble for flour and casks £4 : 3 : 6
17. P^d to John Camble for carriage to y^e Lake 20/. Gun and his wife set sale down y^e Lake with y^e baggage.
18. P^d to Capⁿ Wells 30/ for bread, butter, & left with him 331 more. Dr. Rice, myself and James Dean set out by land. Reached Schenavirs, lodged there.
19. Set forward; reached Otsego where y^e boat joined us.
20. Reached Unedello [Unadilla?]; bought milk /6.
21. Reached Onoque with all our baggage.
22. Had a general Council of y^e Nations. Was received well.
23. Wil^m Forgerson, who came with y^e boat, returned. Paid him for his service 24/, of which Dr. Rice p^d 8/. Wrote home.
24. Built an oven and prepared a house to live in.
25. Wrote a sermon from Acts xvii: 24, 25, 26.
26. Wrote another sermon upon y^e Knowledge of God.
27. Preached a. m. from Acts xvii: 24, &c. Baptized one of y^e Indian children. Mr. Rice preached p. m. John 17: 2.
28. Visited most of y^e families of y^e town; found y^m serious.
29. Wrote to y^e Commissioners, Mr. Bowman; Mrs. Forbes. Discoursed with Peter about planting a Ch. here.
30. Began to instruct y^e children y^e English letters. Finishd a sermon. Wrote to brother Parkman.

JULY.

1. Attended y^e school a. m. p. m. wrote to y^e Menicinks.
2. Wrote a sermon 1 Chro. 28: 9. Attended the school.
3. Pomp's wife washd one shirt for me. Visited some. Discoursed with several on spiritual things and with Peter and Isaac about baptizing a child y^t was offerd. Also about gathering a Ch. and carrying on Div. Service.
4. Isaac prayed and I preached from 1 Chron. 28: 9 a. m. and p. m. Isaac prayed and delivered an exhortation, and I prayed and baptized a daughter named Sally.
5. Wrote some: attended y^e school and read in Doddredge.
6. Went to y^e great Ilands with M^r Johnston, &c.
7. Returned with one leg of venison and Indian spoon. Borrowed of M^r Johnson one shilling, York. Gave two copers for blue berries. Concluded to board by o^rs^{lvs}.

8. Wrote to M^r Bowman. Read some.
9. Went to y^e lower Tuscarora. Wrote a letter to y^e Governor of Philadelphia for Angus y^e chief.
10. Began to dig a cellar: got the materials for to cov^r. Finished y^e cellar. Bought sundries of M^r Ashby.
11. Dr. Rice preached on y^e Depravity of y^e Human Nature.
12. Wrote to y^e Commissioners and sent by Tho^s Stevens. Bought a pipe of a Tuscarora Chief. Gave 2/ York. Sold to Pomp, a negro, some ozenbrigs [Osnaburgs].
13. Wrote to Mr. Brainard by Mr. Johnston.
14. Wrote a sermon from Hosea 13 : 9. P^d Mr. Johnston in full for one snuff box 8/ For Nat Davis shoes 4/. Dr. Rice p^d for snuff box 7/6, Yk mon. 1/ borrowed. Tot. 1 : 0. 6. Paid also to Johnston for a Tobacco Pouch 12/ Settled with Dr. Rice and took a receipt of him.
15. A Johnson and the other Traders left this place.
16. Reckond and settled with Elisha Gun. Due 30 : 5 : 2.0, for w^e he gave me an order upon M^r Hyslop. Reckond and settled with D^r Rice. Found due 31 : 5 : 1 : 3, for w^e he gave me a receipt. Also an account omitted for which he gave no receipt, but remains due 1 : 0 : 8 : 3.
17. Adam, being returned, had a general meeting of y^e principal men of y^e Town, when we told them again our arrant. Was received cordially by Adam y^e chief.
18. Preached myself in the forenoon upon Baptism from Mat. 19 : 14. Baptized a child for a Tuscarora woman who made a public profession of Christianity and was baptized herself by M^r Spencer. Y^e child's name Christine. D^r Rice preached y^e afternoon on Believing, &c.
19. Had a general Council. Discoursed to them on y^e sin of Drunkenness, and proposed to them the scheme of a boarding school, which was well received.
20. Wrote home to my people, to Rev^d Hopkins and Brother Parkman, and sent them by an Indian to Stock [Stockbridge?].
21. Finishd a sermon upon Mat. 8 : 7. Read some. Made candles.
22. Wrote part of a sermon on Ps. 119 : 115. Attended y^e school and read some. Had nothing remarkable.
23. Finished the sermon above and wrote some Miscelanies.
24. Read some and prepared for the Sabbath.
25. Preached A. M. from Hosea 13 : 6 ; P. M. from John 6 : 37. Baptized a woman, — Susanna, — from toward the Onydas, who appeared to be a serious and religious person ; wanted only to be informd further into y^e particular Scheme of Christianity. Also Joseph, the son of a very godly parent, an Onyda chief, who came sixty miles to have y^e ordinance for y^e child.

26. Wrote a letter to M^r Occum, a missionary to y^e Onydas castle. Discoursed with the Tuscarora chief. Found him to be well established in the Christian Protestant Religion, and a very zealous Reformer among y^e Indians of his own Tribe. D^r Rice p^d 8,6 for milk, butter, tallow.

27. Went with M^r Johnson, Tuscarora Interpreter, to y^e lower Tuscarora Town, and baptized Quarlant, a son to a Meriland Indian and Tuscarora squaw. Found y^e Indian ignorant but well disposd, and his squaw much affected with y^e things of Religion. Returnd, found two Indians drunk, tho lately had humbld been admonishd.

28. Baptized a strangers child, who came about sixty miles. The man appeared ignorant and quite indifferent, the woman serious, and pretty well acquainted with Christianity. Wrote y^e Lords prayer in Indian; read some.

29. Bought a large bowl of y^e Indian whose child I baptized; gave one dollar. The child's name was Isaac. Attend the school. Wrote a sermon from Acts 10:12. Received a cagg of butter from Cherry Valley.

30. Finished y^e sermon from Acts x:12. Transcribd the Lords prayer in Indian. Read some in Doddridge.

31. Wrote a sermon for to-morrow from Mark x:21 and finishd the 2nd vol of Doddridge's Tracts, &c.

AUGUST.

1. Preach y^e sermon, above, Mark x:21; had but a small assembly and no meeting in y^e afternoon.

2. Wrote a sermon on regeneration from John 3:7, and visited Abram and his family.

3. Was taken ill in y^e night, an extreme pain in my ear; took a sweat; thro Divine goodness some better.

4. An absiss forming in my left ear gave me great pain.

5. The pain still continued, or rather increased, so y^t I did little else besides read a few pages, write a little Indian, and rough draft of a letter to Governor Bernard.

6. The absis formed in my ear broke and gave me some ease, but not able to do much besides writing a page or two from John 6:29.

7. Finishd my sermon on John 6:29; read some; attended the school.

8. D^r Rice preached from John 1:17, A.M. and P.M. I discoursed with y^m on y^e institution of the Sabbath and y^e man^r of keeping it, at a very attentive assembly. Dind with Abram politely, who with his family behaved with great seriousness.

9. The absis formed in my head discharged itself at my ear, and I soon was very easy and able to attend to any statd business enga.

Wrote part of a sermon from John 13:7. Attended the school and read out of y^e Historical memoirs of Mr. Sergeant.

10. Finishd my sermon from John 13, 7, and began another from Ephe. 11:8. Attended y^e school &c., nothing new.

11, 12. Finishd my sermon from Ephe. 11:8. Was visited by the Onydas chief. Endeavored to remove some suspicion which he had upon his mind with respect to the English repairing y^e Forts at and beyond y^e Lake. Lead him in y^e greater concerns of Religion. Exhortd him to keep with God and be established in y^e Xian Religion.

13. Wrote a letter to Mr. Occum, the Onyda chief.

14. Transcribed, in part, a sermon from 2 Kings 4. 26. Waitd upon y^e Onyda and Tuscarora chiefs, who desired me to preach against Drunkenness. I consentd. They desired that I would apply to y^e Commissioners at Boston y^t some measures might be taken by y^m that importing of rum might be entirely stopd.

15. Preached against Drunkenness from 119 Psalm 158. P.M. Mr Rice preached 2 Tim. 2:19. The chief tarried and thanked me for my sermon. Sd Drunkenness was a great logg across y^e path which y^e traveller cant climb nor go round, and which must be cut away or else Religion cant get along and y^e Drunkards fell y^e logge.

16. Had a meeting of the chiefs who agreed to y^e schem of a boarding school, and desired some more effectual method might be taken to prevent y^e bringing in rum to be sold here, and y^e what rum was brot in shd be at y^e Direction of y^e Council.

17. Agreed to meet y^e Sachems at Dr Williams, on y^e 6 of Sept. Wrote a letter to Governor Bernard at y^e desire of y^e Onyda and Tuscarora chiefs to settle y^e affairs of y^e school.

18. The Onyda and Tuscarora chiefs returnd. Transcribed y^e letter to Governor Bernard. Sold Dr. Rice, Dodd^e and Hervey.

19. Adam dined with us.

20. Transcribed part of a sermon. Conferred with Isaac about gathering a chh.

21. Finish transcribing my sermon 2 Kings iv:26. Discoursed with Capⁿ Jacobs wife about joining to the chh. Gave to Isaac a pair of stockens.

22. Preachd from 3 of John 7, A. M. Dr. Rice P. M. 2 Tim. 2:19.

23. Abridged a sermon of Dr. Doddredges upon y^e Doom of Capernaum.

24. Wrote a chh covenant for y^e covenanting members to sign at Onohaquague. Had further discourse with Isaac.

25. Discoursed with Adam, y^e Onondaga's wife, Capⁿ Jacob, on Religion ; with Peter upon y^e affairs of y^e school and y^e principles of y^e Christian Religion. Y^e Onondaga drunk.

26. Began to write a farewell sermon from Heb. 2:1. Attended

y^e school. Went with Peter to see a place for to erect mills upon. Gave Peter a pair of thread stockens.

27. Finishd my sermon from Heb. 2:1. Discoursed with Peter's wife upon Religion. Cap^a Jacob, son to Adam, under concern of mind, came to see me; appeard really sorry for sin, especially for the sin of drunkenness.

28. The people met. Had an exercise of y^e own. Eleven appeared desirous of being gathered into a chh, nine of whom had been of y^e chh at Schoharry; and they, accordingly, were formed into a chh, solemnly giving themselves up to God, in covenant. Two young women appear desirous of joining, but were set by for y^e present. Appointed y^e Sacrament to-morrow.

29. I preachd from John 6:27. Administered y^e Ordinance of y^e Lords Sup^t to eleven very devout Indian communicants. At evening Isaac, Peter and Nicolas came to discourse upon y^e man^t of administering the Sacrament and y^e admission of new members.

30. The Chiefs had a general Council. Had some important business from y^e Onyda tribe as if the English were determined to cut them off and take away y^e lands. Write a letter to General Johnson, which I am desird to carry to him, as an introduction to a Treaty on wh^t was heard. Agreed to meet again to-morrow about 5 o'clock P. M.

31. At a General Council read a letter to Gen^l Johnson. Admitted three new members into y^e chh. Discoursed with them upon y^e things which have been said here. Gave Peter a jacket worth 5 dollars.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Reckond and setld with Elisha Gunn. Pd by order upon Dr. Rice, which was y^e ballance 3:17:9. Remains due to Gunn, which I am to send, 1:17:9. Left Onohoquague about 3 o'clock P. M. Reached y^e Great Ilands at dark.

2. Journeyed to Unadella, encampd with y^e Indians.

3. I, togeth^r with Tommy and one Indian got to Schenavies.

4. We set forward and reachd Cherry Valley at dark.

5. Preachd at Cherry Valley, from Mat. 7:7, Eph. 2:8.

6. Visited Mr. Dunlap. Made some provisions to send to Onohoquague.

7. Left Cherry Valley. Reached Cap^a Fry's. P^d 9/.

8. Reached S^r Wil^m [Sir William Johnson?]. Finished with y^e Indians.

9. Got to Albany. Lodged at Esq. Sanders; took £6.

10. Reached Rev^d. Hopkins; lodged there; late.

11. Rode to Blandford; lodged at Rev. Moulton's. Preached for Mr. Moulton from Mat. 7:7. 8:9.

13. Went forward. Dined at Rev^d Ballintines; lodgd at Rev^d Brecks. Public rejoicings for y^e success of the British Fleet and Army agst the Spaniards at y^e Iland of Cuba.

14. Got home about 5 o'clock P. M. Found all well.

15. Was visited by divers of my people: received well.

16. Preached a Sacramental Lecture. M^r Tift present.

17. Went to Potters, Brother Baldwins, Parkmans, Jos. Gilberts.

18. Prepared for the Sabbath. Harvest my garden corn.

19. Preached from John 12:32. Administered the Sacrament.

20. Wrote Rev^d Mr. Hopkins; visited Esq. Converse, Hinkley, &c.

21. Visited Cap^t Baldwin; got my horse shod.

22. Set out on my journey to Boston. Lodged at Westborough.

23. Spent y^e fore part of y^e day with my friends. P. M. journeyed to Marlborough. Lodged at Mr. How's.

24. Reached Roxbury. Lodged at Rev^d Adams.

25. Went to Boston. Dined at D^r Chauncy's. Spent y^e remainder of y^e day with my friends. Lodged at S. Parkman.

26. Preached for D^r Chauncy A. M. M^r Checley P. M. Acts 10:1.

27. Attended y^e meeting of y^e Com^{tee} of Commis^{ns}, and settld all accounts with them. Received £100 in full, old Ten^t.

28. Having settld, left y^e town at 6 P. M. Lodged at Cambridge.

29. Reached Westborough; lodged at my Father Forbes.

30. Journeyed to Brookfield. Found all well. M^{rs} Winter came.

OCTOBER.

1. Visited Brother Parkman, Baldwin, &c.

2. Made some preparation for y^e Sabth. Visited Comfort Gilbert.

3. Preachd from Mat. 7:7, Mat. 3:29.

4. Visited as usual. Hannah Hinds; had company.

5. Visited Comfort Gilbert. Began to prepare for y^e Thanks.

6. Finished my Thanksgiving [sermon]. Gave to Job Lane 3/4.

7. Preachd from Ps. 29:12. Married James Brown [to] Mary Beacon.

8. Visited Comfort Gilbert. Read some.

9. Wrote a part of a sermon from John xi:35.

10. Preached from Acts x:12 A. M. P. M. an old sermon, 1 Cor. 1:21.

11. Visited Comfort Gilbert. Went to see Esq. Ayers; not at home.

12. Paid Nat. Bartlet in full for mending my chair 6/8. Dind at Baldwins with Father Parkman. Visited Bro^r Eben^r.

13. Went to Ware with Father Parkman. Dined with Rev^d Thayer.

14. Had a Lecture. Father Parkman preached. Read a letter which I wrote to my pp when I was at Onohoquague.

15. Dind at Esq. Haywards with Father Parkman. P^d Aaron Barnes for tallow, in full 3/8 L. M.

16. Wrote some. Visitd Esq Converse with Fath^r Parkman.
17. Preached for Rev^d Parsons. Father Parkman preached for me.
18. Visited Comfort Gilbert. Cesar, Capⁿ Baldwin's negro had a fit.
19. Visited M^r Fisk with my wife and M^{rs} Winter. I lodged at Fisks.
20. Went to minis^{tr} meeting at Ware. I preached from John 13:7. Returned. Y^e meeting is appointed at my house, y^e 3^d Tuesday next May. M^r Thayer and M^r Pain are designated to preach.
21. Visited old M^{rs} Bell and Nath^l Bartlet's child. Nat^l Gould cartd for me 12 loads of Dung. Lampson one of wood.
22. M^r Lampson with his son and oxen worked for me; drew stone.
23. Finishd my sermon on John xi:25. Prepared for y^e Sabbath.
24. Preached from Psalm 119:115. John 13:7. It rained.
25. Wrote to D^r Chauncy, M^r Maccarty, D^r Willard by Capⁿ Baldwin. Visited Ensign Barnes, Comfort Gilbert, Sister Baldwin.
26. M^r Lampson worked for me, with his son. Drew stone.
27. M^r Lampson and his son worked for me. Drew stone & ploughed.
28. Visited Deaⁿ Bigelow, M^r Weeks, with Rev^d Beacon. Began my sermon Mat. xi:23.
29. Began to prepare for the Sabbath. Visited Brother Parkman.
30. Finishd my sermon on Mat. xi:23. Visited Comfort Gilbert.
31. Preached from John 3:7, and x:35. Comfort Gilbert dyed at 5 o'clock A. M.

NOVEMBER.

1. Attend y^e funeral of Comfort Gilbert. Daniel Lampson worked.
2. Had 2 lads to cut wood for me gratis. Workd myself with y^m.
3. Preached my own Sacramental Lecture from Ps 24:1, 2.
5. Prepared for the Sabbath.
6. Rev^d Beacon came on his return.
7. He preached for me all day, "Come, for all things are ready."
8. It snowed fast. M^r Beacon went to his brothers after dinn^r.
9. My neighb^r Butler got me two loads of wood gratis.
10. Wrote to D^r Chauncy a long and free letter, with account, &c.
11. To M^r Hyslop. Visited Brother Parkman.
12. Began to write a se^d sermon from Mat. xi:23, 24.
13. Wrote on the xv of John an Exposition.
14. Preached from Mat. xi:23, 24. Expounded as above.
15. Visited Ob^r Rice, Jose Converse, M^r Hinkley.
16. Joshua Bartlett worked for me.
17. Visited the Watsons with my wife.
18. Josh. cut wood. Amos Ayers hauled me 3 loads. Sent Jos. Foster 13/4.

19. Finished my 2nd sermon on Mat. xi: 23, 24. Began my Exposition Joh xv: 12, *ad finem*.

20. Finishd my Exposition on John. Visited M^r Ayers sick.

21. Preachd on y^e Doom of Capernaum. Expounded from John xv: 12 *ad finem*.

22. Visited M^r Jo. Batchellor. Cap^s Witt's; negro [of] Capⁿ Baldwin died. Relinquished my wood of y^e people. Received of Deaⁿ Biglow £13 salary.

23. Attended Capⁿ Baldwin's negro's funeral. Jos. Gilberts wife delivered of a son.

24. Went to Braintree, preached to a sick woman. Visited M^r Ayer's wife sick. P^d Benj. Kimball for his mare, which I bought last spring, £10.

25. Daniel Wiman began a shed and door yard.

26. Wrote a sermon from Mat^r. 8: 11, 12. Visited Caesar, Capⁿ Witt's negro.

27. Wrote an Exposition on John xvi: 9-15. M^r Beriah Rice came to see me.

28. Preachd and expounded from y^e above. M^r Rice spent Sabbath.

29. Visited M^r A. Bartlett, and Cap^s Baldwin, sick. Wrote to S. Champney.

30. Wyman worked for me. Lucy How came to see me on Religion.

DECEMBER.

1. Visited Capⁿ Witt and Capⁿ Baldwin with my wife.

2. Visited Jo Foster, esq. with my wife and son. P^d him for cheese 10/—

3. Prepared for the Sab. Visited at evening Aaron Bartlet sick.

4. Wrote still for y^e Sabath. Visited Capⁿ Baldwin, sick.

5. Exchanged with Rev^d Fisk. I preached from Mat^r xi: 23, 24.

6. Visited M^r Ayers, Aaron Woods, Deaⁿ Biglow, &c.

7. Began my Thanksgiving Sermon. Wrote but little. Had company. Discoursed with Jed^b How about his making a profession.

8. Wrote for the Thanksgiving. Had a great many presence. P^d M^r Lampson one dollar; he is to receive two more of Dea. Biglow, w^h is y^e full I owe him for butter. Rec^d of One^r Ayers 2/—

9. Preached on y^e Thanksgiving from Col. 3: 16, 17. Had a full assembly.

10. Was visited by M^r Baldwin. Wrote nothing. Lucy How visited on religion.

11. Wrote an Exposition on John xvi: 16 *ad finem*. Wrote to Esq. Ayers.

12. Preached from Mat. 8: 11, 12, and y^e above exposition. Baptized several.

13. Visitd as usual; sent by Jo. Gilbert for a pound of tea. Delivd to him 19/4.
14. Wrote to Rev^d Parkman and Wilmar. Sent one of D^r Chauncy's sermons.
15. Visitd Mr. Weeks and Deacon Biglow with my wife.
16. Wrote some. Visitd Capt^a Baldwin.
17. Attended y^e funeral of Aron Wood.
18. Prepared for y^e Sabbath. Finishd a ser. from Ps. 49. 5. Wrote an exposition upon John xvii: 1-12. Nothing besides noticeable.
19. Preachd from y^e above. Receivd one pound of tea at 56/ old ten.
20. Visitd Aaron Bartlet, Bro. Parkman, Esq. Hayward, Leut. How.
21. Four young men came to chop wood for me gratis. Receivd 150 shingles of M^r Bridge on Baldwin's account. Gave W^m Watson an order upon y^e treas^r for 15/5²/₄, and he gave me one for y^e same on Cap^a Baldwin. Onesephemus Ayres carted four loads of wood.
22. Had a conference with Esquire Ayers, with Dea^a Biglow, Bro Adams.
23. Visitd Dea^a Gould, Tho^a Bartlet & Aaron with M^r Forbes.
24. Wrote a part of a sermon for new year's day.
25. Wrote in y^e forenoon, P.M. went to New Brantree.
26. Preach at New Brantree from M^m xi: 23, 24.
27. Visitd Cap^a Baldwin, M^m Gilbert, &c., as usual on Mondays. Took a cow to keep of M^r Holten for her milk.
28. Ten of my people came to get wood for me gratis.
29. Two more came to get wood gratis. Got about 15 cord.
30. Had a conference with Esq. Ayers with a number of y^e pp at y^e school house.
31. Made some preparations for y^e Sabbath. Visitd Cap^a Baldwin's wife.

Expended for my support and family in 1762, 55: 14: 0.

Rev. Dr. Edward J. Young, Rev. Dr. Alexander McKenzie, and Mr. Charles C. Smith were appointed as the Committee for publishing the Proceedings for the next year.

The CORRESPONDING SECRETARY said that he had received a letter from Mr. John Fiske accepting the membership to which he was elected at the March meeting.

Mr. ABNER C. GOODELL, Jr., to whom had been referred several letters from Major James Walter, submitted a report, which was accepted and ordered to be placed on file.

Mr. CHARLES C. SMITH said that he desired to communicate from our learned associate, Mr. Charles J. Hoadly, who has done so much to illustrate the history of Connecticut, a copy of the diary of one of the Connecticut chaplains during a part of the siege of Boston. The diary covers the period from July 31 to Nov. 12, 1775, and was kept by Rev. Benjamin Boardman, then of Middle Haddam, and chaplain of the Second Connecticut Regiment, Gen. Joseph Spencer's. Mr. Boardman was a native of Middletown, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College in the class of 1758, and afterward, for two years, a tutor in the College. In 1762 he was ordained at Middle Haddam, where he remained upward of twenty-one years. In May, 1784, he was installed over the South Church in Hartford, from which he was dismissed in 1790. He died Feb. 8, 1802, at the age of seventy. Though not of much historical importance, the diary supplements the interesting letters of the brothers Huntington, also Connecticut men, communicated by Mr. Wolcott at the last meeting of the Society, and adds appreciably to our knowledge of the camp-life around Boston. The original of the diary is in the possession of the Hon. Henry Barnard, of Hartford.

Diary of Rev. Benjamin Boardman.

Monday July 31. Last night about one of the clock, a brisk fire from the enemy at Roxbury. One of our centry was hurled round by a cannon ball, & thrown down, which gave him a considerable of a shock. The enemy fired Georges Tavern & several adjacent buildings. One regular deserted & come over to us here at Roxbury. There was an action at the Light House in which we lost but one man belonging to the Massachusetts; had one slightly wounded: took about 40 prisoners 24 marines and 12 Tories: killed one Lieu', who was y^e chief commander of y^e marines: wounded 3 or 4, burnt the buildings on y^e Island, & two small schooners; one loaded with goods which our people took.

At Cambridge only one of our men killed belonging to the Massachusetts. We killed 3 of y^e regulars; took 7 guns 2 hats.

Tuesday Aug^t 1. Much firing at Bunker Hill. Our people killed 4 or 5 regulars, took one. Some firing here from the Floating Battery 3 24 pounders from our Hill — no great execution.

Wednesday Aug^t 2. Nothing special to day.

Thursday Aug^t 3. Captⁿ Parker of the Province a day or two past, for defrauding his souldiers of their bounty, wages &c., for making

false returns, drawing more rations than he had a just right to was broke and dismissed from the service of his country. Also Col^l Gardiner of Rhode Island for deserting his post in time of action at Bunkers Hill, cowardice, &c. was broke & dismissed out of service as being unfit to serve his country in any military capacity.

Friday Aug^t 4. Tis reported that Col^l Grant is arrived from England to Boston, who said in Parliament that the Americans were cowards & would not fight &c. &c.

Saturday Aug^t 5. Last night a party of 600 men were ordered out on fatigue to throw up some advanced works, which they did unmolested, the enemy not firing a gun at them. This day I moved into tent. Also Mr. Whiting set out for Connecticut, had my horse.

Sabbath Day Aug^t 6. Last night went a detachment of troops to carry on the same works as mentioned before.

Monday Aug^t 7. We hear this day y^t y^e troops in Boston are in trouble, want of fuel, provisions, & health, so y^t some think they will not be able to stand it much longer without some special recruits;—that they are shipping some of y^t most valuable effects, some of the soldiers families are put on board the vessels &c., that they have dismantled the Castle &c. One Brockway of Lime died this day of y^e small pox.

Tuesday Aug^t 8. Searg^t Coolly died of Cap^t Wills's company, belonged to Somers. Tis said y^e regulars are putting y^t goods & families on board their ships; that they are to demolish y^e Castle, destroy Boston &c. and then return home. Wants confirmation.

Wednesday Aug^t 9. This day attended the funeral of Searg^t Cooley of Somers. Doct^r Kneeland in camp. M^r Fuller of Cape Ann, his wife, & Molly Win came into Roxbury, &c. &c.

Thursday Aug^t 10. Mr. Fuller, Mrs. Fuller, & Molly Win breakfasted at our quarters, went up to my tent, drank a glass of wine; went out of town about 11 o'clock. About 30 prisoners, some marines & some Tories, came to Cambridge yesterday; taken away to y^e eastward, towards Machias; among whom was one Jones, who was very active in providing lumber &c. for y^e regulars. Mr. Wheat from Norwich brings news that the regulars had taken about 2000 sheep, & above a 100 head of cattle off Fishers Island. News that a n^o of regular officers among whom was a gen^l went out to sail for y^t pleasure, & were taken by our people: wants confirmation.

Friday Aug^t 11. Last night plentiful rain, considerable thunder & lightning. Two Blins, cousins, of Captⁿ Chesters company, and one Dodge of Captⁿ Wells' comp^y were whipped 10 stripes for desertion, & y^e 2 Blins fined 15/ cash & Dodge 52/, to be taken out of their wages, to pay for y^t being taken up & brought to camp. Visited the sick this day, baptized one Benjamin Taylor of Hebron who was very sick, after having discoursed with him upon y^t subject a day or two

before. Mr Samⁿ Eells & Mr. Bray came into camp. Mr. Bray prayed with my reg^t.

Saturday Aug^t 12. Nothing very special this day, except many visitors.

Sabbath Aug^t 13. Last night a party of fatigue men about 500 opened an advanced intrenchment at a place called Lambs Damm. A quiet day for publick worship. Mr Samⁿ Eells preached for me in the forenoon, & Mr Bray in the afternoon.

Monday Aug^t 14. Nothing special this day.

Tuesday Aug^t 15. This morning two persons were punished: one Taylor of Captⁿ Wells company for stealing for which he received 10 stripes & was fined 30/ — the other for forging an order for 2 q^{ts} of rum on Ensⁿ Cole for which he was fined 3/. A n^o of ships came in this day supposed to be those that went to Fishers Island &c. One of Captⁿ Clefs men died, who belonged to Col^l Parsons reg^t. A few cannon fired this afternoon, one of y^e train had a cannon ball grazed his head, took off some of the skin, but does well.

Wednesday Aug^t 16. Have had a pretty poor day, took physick, worked smartly, am somewhat feeble; have had the camp disorder 2 or 3 days; discharge much blood. Moved back from tent into the house.

Thursday Aug^t 17. Two men on the main guard had their guns each of yⁿ broke with the shot of a cannon ball; neither of the men hurt. The enemy also sent two or 3 bombs, one broke in the air, one man was hurt a little with some of the broken pieces. 3 men got out of Boston under a pretence of going a fishing; one regular taken at Cambridge; a man killed by the centry last night at Cambridge; the centry hailed him, but he refused to answer, so he lost his life like a fool. This day about 5 o'clock in the afternoon John Hilton Higbe died after a long distressing turn of camp sickness, he belonged to Maj^r Meigs company.

Friday Aug^t 18. A fine shower of rain last night. The regulars fired a few cannon this morning, but have done no hurt. This day attended y^e funeral of John H. Higbe; he is the 4th person y^t has died with sickness in Gen^l Spencers reg^t.

Saturday Aug^t 19. Last night there come over to us a deserter from the regulars. Some firing last night, but none of our people were hurt. The enemy sent a very large bomb, it did no hurt. Some firing this morning, but no man hurt, except 2 or 3 of the riflemen a little hurt with some pieces of brick struck from a chimney with a cannon ball. The regulars took 8 or 9 cows from our side, a little distance from our centries. James Lord of Hart^d died about 3 o'clock this afternoon.

Sabbath Day Aug^t 20. Quiet last night & this morning; a peaceable sabbath; had opportunity for publick worship. Mr Marsh of New

Hartford preached for me in the forenoon, from those words in Judges 5. 18. and Mr. Bliss preached in the afternoon from those words in Deut. 23, 9-14, and had he have digested his subject might have done well, but attempting to extemporize it was as it was.

Monday Aug^t 21. Our people went out with boats to amuse the enemy: returned in safety, gave fire at y^e commⁿ but received none from the enemy. It has been a very hot day; put my horse to Captⁿ Peritts pasture. Died Benjⁿ Taylor of Hebron in Captⁿ Wells company.

Tuesday Aug^t 22. Last night a deserter come over to us says *yy* have provisions enough, 1500 sheep at Charlestown; dont intend to come out till *yy* have recruits; expect 4000, or 4 reg^m; he came out because of hard usage or service. He also informs y^t the enemy design an advanced work to Georges tavern; this engages our Generals attention. On Friday last Col^l Gerrish was cashiered for cowardice at Bunker Hill action, & declared incapable of any employment in the American Army. A man came out of Boston who says y^t last night a boat came along, y^e regular centry hailed it, & the boats crew fired on y^m and killed 4 men: this they reckoned was a mistake of y^e man of war's barge, but no doubt it was one of our boats y^t went out, which says y^t y^e centry did hail y^m. & y^t *yy* fired on y^m, but could not tell whether to any effect. Died Ambrose Church of Gen^l Spencers reg^t.

Wednesday Aug^t 23. The enemy fired a n^o of cannon to day but did no damage. Attended Churches funeral; also a funeral in Col^l Brewers reg^t. It has been a very hot day. A large fatigue to carry on advanced works, but the rain prevented their doing much.

Thursday Aug^t 24. Nothing special to day. No news from any quarter.

Friday Aug^t 25. This morning pleasant and cool. I rode to Milton, saw Gov^r Hutchinson's seat; pleasant prospect open on the water. Got my horse shod, before, cost 2/. A small alarm at Squantum, occasioned by the approach of 2 or 3 boats of the enemy. Our people fired when *yy* were about 3 musket shot distance, which occasioned their return, and so y^e fray ended. A ship or two came in, and a salute passed of about 18 cannon. To this time we have lost out of our reg^t 14, 8 with sickness, & 6 killed by the enemy.

Saturday Aug^t 26. Near 30 sail put out to sea. Last evening there was a considerable firing of cannon & small arms, this occasioned by 4 of the regulars deserting and coming over to our people. Also this morning one regular deserted from the floating battery and come to our people. Colon^l Dyer & Elderkin here to day.

Sabbath Aug^t 27. Last night our people opened an intrenchment on Plowed Hill which was an advanced post towards the enemy, which brought on a fire from the enemy y^t has continued all day: y^e enemy have killed 2 of our men, & wounded 2 more; one of y^m is a rifleman

who has his leg cut off by the surgeon; the other has a flesh wound received on the side of his face and nose by a splinter shivered from a rail by a cannon ball. The enemy have this day fired 265, more like 3 or 400, cannon at our people. We hit one of their floating batteries with a cannon ball. We had a quiet day at Roxbury for publick worship. I preach all day from Deut. 32. 29. We had several little showers of rain this day which was much needed.

Monday Aug^t 28. Last night we had an extraordinary thunder storm, much lightning, hard thunder, noble rain. This day one Couch of Symsbury died, of Capt^a Pettybones company & Spencers reg^t. This makes o^r loss 15, 9 of sickness & 6 kill^d. One of our men killed this day at Prospect Hill with a cannon ball. Also a deserter came over to our people last night. He swam off naked. He had been confined for insulting an officer, and his desertion seemed evidently occasioned by this rather than any dislike to fight ag^t America.

Tuesday Aug^t 29. A fine rain to day. Mr. Norton paid me £12 in cash towards my wages as chaplain, which he brought me from the com^{ms} of the pay table at Hartford. The enemy have fired some to day. One of y^e riflemen died here today. Tis said he that was wounded & had his leg cut off is dead. We hear this day that a brig has arrived at N. Y. with 60 tun of powder & 500 stand of arms; that when she sailed from England, orders were for 6 reg^{ts} to get ready for America. She has had 10 or 11 weeks passage.

Wednesday Aug^t 30. Steady rain. No progress this morning in the field. The enemy threw bombs last night to our people at Cambridge. We hear *xy* did no damage, most of y^m fell short. One of Major Enos's men primed his gun, flashed it, & not having stopped his powder horn the powder took fire hurt himself considerably, & two more in some measure; all being in tent.

Thursday Aug^t 31. Rainy this morning & so continued all the day. The enemy sent a n^o of bombs from Bunkers Hill to our people, the effect dont yet come to hand. I collected this day in cash for the encourag^t of Mr Bushnells Machine the sum of £13. 4. 4. in cash out of our reg^t.

Friday Sept^r 1st. Last night about one of the clock the enemy gave us at Roxbury for about a quarter of an hour the briskest and hottest fire that we have yet had here. They sent 4 bombs, and as soon as they had discharged the bomb *xy* immediately fired cannon. They killed 2 of our men, one belonging to Col^l Danielsons reg^t — his name Dewey. The other belonged to Colon^l Huntingtons reg^t. Ball lodged in breast, who was on the centry, his name Carpenter. They wounded but one, he with a brick struck by y^e ball. 2 regulars deserted about an hour before the fire began and come over to our people. This afternoon we find another killed last night, he belonged to Col^l Larneds reg^t. This last clause is contradicted, for the man said to be missing & found dead

was found out at Huttons wood lot by a number of our people that were out a cutting wood, cowards.

Saturday Sept^r 2. This day we observed the enemy had made some advances in their works ag^t us, which engaged us to give them fire. We gave them 22 cannon shot, *yy* returned 12 & one bomb in the forenoon, in the afternoon there were a few more, but *yy* still kept their works.

Sabbath Day Sept^r 3. Cloudy, cool & somewhat rainy this morning, & after morning prayers the rain increased and about the middle of the day rained hard, and continued so all day which has been the most rainy of any day for this many months. We have had no opportunity for publick worship this day.

Monday Sept^r 4. Weather cloudy and wets a little ; nothing very special to day. Mr. Chapman of the Jerseys prayed with our reg^t this evening.

Tuesday Sept^r 5. This morning very clear & pleasant after the long cloudy rainy season. This day I went round to the fort on the hill, the redoubt on the rock, to our breast work at Dudleys house, and to our advanced works by the burying yard, and so round by Lambs Dam, on the right of the road, & *y^r* viewed those lines on the left of *y^e* road *y^t* leads out of Roxbury into Boston. Also looked of *y^e* ground where it is proposed to build a redoubt for raking the enemys works on Boston Neck.

Wednesday Sept^r 6. We hear this morning that yesterday a number of regulars went out a fishing, among whom was a surgeon, and *yy* came on shore at Chelsea, where the surgeon & one more separated from the rest, and our guards cut off *y^r* retreat, & took *y^m* prisoners. This day two companies one out of our & another out of Col^l Parsons reg^t marched to Cambridge in order to go to Quebeck.

Thursday Sept^r 7. Last night we began advanced works 20 rods forward of Georges tavern. Mr. Cushing tells us that Deacon Church tells him that his son came out of Boston yesterday, and says that he dined the day before with several officers among whom was Major Cone who told him that General Gage had received positive orders from home to remove his troops from Boston this month home to England ; that the toast among the officers was Union between Great Britain & America ; that several of *y^e* tories were gone home to England ; *y^t* several officers had resigned *y^r* commissions, &c. Stephen Ranny who was sentenced by a court martial yesterday to receive 8 stripes on the naked body with cat of nine tayls, was this morning graciously pardoned by the General, for which he was very thankful. His crime was for deserting his post when on the pickuet guard.

Friday Sept^r 8. Very pleasant weather. Doct^r Stiles of Newport here to day, took breakfast, after which we went to our works and viewed them all at Roxbury, and see the regulars come out to relieve

their guards. About eleven of the clock the D^r set out for home, and desired Mr Johuson & I to communicate to him articles of intelligence from time to time, he engaging y^e same to us.

Saturday Sept^r 9. An Irishman of Gen^l Spencers reg^t we have good reason to think, deserted & went over to the regulars night before last. Tis said two of y^e rifle men had agreed to go with him. A few cannon & a bomb or two fired last night a little before sundown, and a few cannon this morning from the enemy, done no hurt. Major Basset of Braintree came from Cambridge and brought intelligence that a privateer of ours had retaken a vessel from the enemy in which was a lieut. & 3 or 4 men that had been put on board to carry y^e vessel into Boston; and she was now brought into Cape Ann.

Sabbath Day Sept^r 10. This morning the enemy fired 3 or 4 cannon, at our people, hurt no man but broke 3 guns & a boat. They fire platoons briskly, a strange practice for sabbath day, when they do but little at it on other days. A quiet sabbath, we had opportunity for publick worship all day. I preached from Deut. 32. 4. Gen^l Fry and Mr. Ward, General Ward's aid de camp, attended our meeting.

Monday Sept^r 11. Last night one of our centries on Cambridge side departed & went over to the regulars; a rogue. This day six regulars with a barge fell into our hands, wind and tide being ag^t y^m they came on shore, and our people soon took y^m without the discharge of a gun. One was a searg^t, he says we killed & wounded on the spot at Bunker Hill 1335. The talk among y^e souldiers is y^t affairs will soon be settled; we gave y^m cyder to drink and y^e searg^m toast was Love and unity. They have had late news from England, but it is all kept close.

Tuesday Sept^r 12. Doct^r Moseley came to town. This day came to hand a handbill containing the petition & remonstrance of the City of London to George 3^d, and the spirited resolves & manner of presenting y^e same to his Maj^{ty} all much in favour of America.

Wednesday Sept^r 13. This day come to Roxbury about 140 head of cattle & 900 or more sheep. Tis said they were brought from Canonicut Island & adjacent islands. Tis said y^e Duke of Argile is appointed Gov^r of Boston, and one How is appointed Admiral in y^e room of Graves.

Thursday Sept^r 14. Nothing special to day except we had one cannon ball shot, which threw so much dirt into a mans bason of bread and milk as spoiled his breakfast; also that two ships sailed, some said *yy* had troops on board.

Friday Sept^r 15. Last night one of the regulars deserted and came over to us here at Roxbury. He gives no particular intelligence.

Saturday Sept^r 16. Another deserter last night gives no very particular intelligence, but only as we have had in general. Also 4 men run away from a man of war, three of y^m belonged to Connecticut. *yy* say y^t a 20 gun ship sailed yesterday for Quebeck, and *yy* understood

another man of war was to sail to day for y^e same place: About $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 of y^e clock this afternoon fired 2 bombs and 5 or 6 cannon at our people, but did no hurt.

Sabbath Day Sept^r 17. A few cannon shot between our people & y^e regulars in y^e morning. A quiet sabbath. I preached this day at Jamaica Plains for the Rev^d Mr. Gordon, who is gone a journey to Philadelphia.

Monday Sept^r 18. Last night 5 men who had been taken prisoners from Piscataqua, took a boat and came over to us, and bring this intelligence that our shot yesterday on the enemy killed one man & wounded 3 more, one of the wounded had his thigh shot off. The enemy this day fired a large number of cannon at our people, hurt no man except the captⁿ of y^e main guard, in a very slightly manner, with a piece of a brick or splinter. They also sent 13 bombs, five of which never broke, our people got the powder out of them. Wonderful preservⁿ this day!

Tuesday Sept^r 19th. The enemy have fired a number of cannon this forenoon, $\gamma\gamma$ shot a ball thro the guard house, it went through a room where were a number of men, & yet not one man hurt. The remainder of y^e day very quiet. This day Col^l Pitkin sent us some fresh fish, flounders, &c.

Wednesday Sept^r 20. Last night a deserter swam over to Dorchester Point & came to us; also 5 men run away from y^e shipping & came over to Dorchester. The deserter tells us he belonged to the 44th reg^t. — that $\gamma\gamma$ had news yesterday that there were 6 reg^{ts} expected in about a fortnight, that there were about 300 or a little better in a reg^t. Last night died one Burroughs of Gen^l Spencer's reg^t. This is the 10 we have lost with sickness. Attended the funeral of said Burroughs this day. He belonged at Tolland.

Thursday Sept^r 21. Last night 11 men ran away from the shipping, who had been taken by y^e enemy, y^e men belong to Piscataqua. The enemy fired a considerable number of cannon the latter part of the day, but hurt no man. Our people are wonderfully protected!

Friday Sept^r 22. Gen^l Washington gave out orders for officers to have rations; in general they will do pretty well, but it gives me an idea that he sets no great by chaplains, as he has made them y^e lowest in the grant, giving them only 2 while others have from 3 to 15.

Two more sailors run away last night & brought off another boat; this makes 8 or 9 good boats y^e have fallen into our hands, but they are by no means so much as a shadow of reparation for the numerous vessels they have taken from us. Preached a lecture for Mr. Gordon. The enemy fired,

Maj. Gen ^l	15
Brig ^{dr} G ^l	12
Col ^l	6
L. Col.	5
Maj ^r	4
Capt ⁿ	3
Sub ^d	2
Staff	2

as a token of rejoicing at Georges coronation, from y^e admiral, castle, &c. — Guilbert a souldier in Captⁿ Willys comp^y died to day. Very rainy this afternoon. This day Capⁿ Sumner took my horse to go to Squantum.

Saturday Sept^r 23. The enemy fired this forenoon 105 cannon, several came up y^e hill by Roxbury meeting house; they also shot thro a house where were a number of people, but they have hurt no man. A very remarkable providence! God be praised. A few days ago the captⁿ of y^e light horse cut his throat: the occasion was not being allowed to resign his commissⁿ. A funeral of Guilbert this day. We hear that Deacⁿ Fullers son, souldier y^t went home is dead. This makes 12 died in our reg^t with sickness.

Sabbath Day Sept^r 24. A comfortable sabbath, publick worship not interrupted by the enemy. I preached from 2 Chron. 20, 12 all day. Col^l Wyllys thanked me & said it was y^e best sermⁿ he had ever heard upon the occation & troubles of y^e day.

Monday Sept^r 25. This morning we hear that St. Johns is taken. The rifleman under conviction almost made his escape last night, our out centry took him up. Query what was y^e guard about who had y^e care of him. St Johns not taken. A few days ago Col^l Mansfield was cashiered.

Tuesday Sept^r 26. Last night 2 regulars deserted and say y^m are no more troops coming to America, y^t a ship arrived a day or two past from Ireland & brought such intelligence; y^e ship brought provision.

Wednesday Sept^r 27. This day attended the funeral of Moses Olmsted of E. Haddam & one Whitaker of Maj^r Enos company who died yesterday. These make 14 that we have lost with sickness. This afternoon one Jackson in Captⁿ Chester's company died. Last night Major Tupper with a large party went off on boats to Govⁿ Island, I hear returned to day with 11 cattle and 2 horses. As a brigantine was coming to Boston from Quebeck with 60 head of cattle & a 100 sheep, wind & tide being strong ag^t her, she fell into our hands at Cape Ann.

Thursday Sept^r 28. We hear this day that a vessel from New Providence with a great number of turtle & a variety of fruits fell into our hands at Marble Head, forced that way by the violence of wind.

Friday Sept^r 29. We hear this day y^t Carlton sent a paccat to Gage in y^e ship that fell into our hands at Cape Ann, w^h says that Carlton cant help Gage, and he believes y^t 5000 troops would subdue Canada.

Saturday Sept^r 30. Last night a hard frost. Ice this morning as thick as glass. Two regulars deserted last night, say 10 reg^m are arrived at Newfoundland, which are now expected in daily. A vendue to day. Black horse £10/10. Yoke of oxen £10/10 £21.0. Yoke of oxen £11. Cow 5/6, do £4/5, do £4/4, £24.15. Heifer £3 3. Little cow £3 9. Yoke steers £8 - 14 - 9. Another horse Maj^r Tupper had for his part giving the souldiers a barrel of rum. Captⁿ Sumner returned from Squantum

with my horse. The enemy fired briskly 28 cannon this morning, hurt no body. Middlehaddam troops in the new recruits arrived to day.

Sabbath Oct 1. A quiet sabbath. Preached all day from Colos. 1.19. This day Ackley in Capt^a Wyllys comp^r died. Saw a considerable of my parishioners that came in the recruits.

Monday Oct 2. Doct^r Church under an arrest for keeping up a corresp^d with the enemy in Boston. Attended Ackleys funeral to day. Stow souldier in Major Meigs company died this afternoon. A few cannon towards night. No hurt.

Tuesday Oct 3. Attended Stows funeral to day. Class mate Olcott lodged here last night. Mr Bird chaplain arrived here to day. President Dagget, Brother Lothrop of Gilead. The 60 head of cattle from Quebeck turn out to be but 45. 15 were lost in a storm. No flour, that was in another ship w^h got safe into Boston.

Wednesday Oct 4. A vessel sent out of Boston for wood came over to us at Salem, y^e capⁿ of w^h says Lord How is appointed Gov^r of Boston, Clinton commands at Bunker Hill, & Gage is going home tomorrow. Three men of war are going somewhere, y^x have taken 2 or 3 mortars on board, and are to carry 2 reg^{ts}, containing about 600 troops. He also adds y^t some say Burgoin is gone to Philadelphia; others say not, but he says that tho he used to see Burgoin frequently, yet he had not lately seen him for several days. A ship of 300 tun lately fallen into our hands, containing 2200 barrels of flour direct from London.

Thursday Oct 5. This day Mr. Adams minister of Roxbury died. Cloudy & lowery all day. Yesterday rec^d account from Maj^r Meigs, letter dated 24 of Sept^r at Fort Weston about 30 miles up the river Kenebeck. 4 deserted from the shipping last night & brought off 2 boats.

Friday Oct 6. The enemy fired this morning 89 cannon about 9 o'clock in about $\frac{1}{2}$ hour. They shot off one mans arm, & killed 2 cows.

Saturday Oct 7. No news to day from any quarter. Bought a stock buckle 8/8 price.

Sabbath Oct 8. Cloudy & lowery. Last night a regular deserted, a stout fellow 6 feet 2 inches high. After he run away he was fired at, but when he had got out of danger he called to Brother Boston not to fire at him any more. Preached at Jamaica Plains for Mr. Gordon. The forenoon rainy, clear & warm in the afternoon.

Monday Oct 9. Last night 2 regulars set out to swim over to us, one of them was caught & carried back, the other came over to us, was shot at but escaped, he belongs to the light horse as he says. While he was in the water he stripped off his coat, was obliged to dive a great deal to keep out of sight. This day Isaac Spencer had my horse to go home.

Tuesday Oct 10. But little news to day except the treaty of Brister

people with Wallace giving him 40 sheep to stop firing. Infamous ! This day I went round to wait on Mr Alsop, Col^l Sage & Captⁿ Hart to view our works, they were pleased with y^m

Wednesday Oct^r 11. The day before yesterday a rifleman was whipped and drummed out of camp. This morning another rifleman was drummed out of camp, not whipped, but if he ever returns again he is to receive 30 lashes.

Thursday Oct^r 12. This day dined on turtle at Captⁿ Waterman's, a very good dinner. Little or no news to day.

Friday Oct^r 13. Went to the hospital, found the sick in general in a hopeful way ; went to see Col^l Reed, he is better ; told me he heard by way of his brother from Cambridge that we had taken a 24 gun ship to the eastward. The man who had his arm shot off died last night, the watcher got to sleep and the artery opened & blood ran till he died. Deputy Gov^r Griswold of Connecticut dined here to day.

Saturday Oct^r 14. Nothing to day.

Sabbath Oct^r 15. Topliff, sold^r, Maj^r Enos company, died last night, 18 with sickness. Attended the funeral of Topliff this afternoon after publick worship. Preached all day. Forenoon considered X^t in the character of an advocate : in the afternoon on the shortness of life Pr^o 27. Two ships came in to day. I went down as far as Dorchester meeting house to the funeral, at Deacⁿ Topliff's, a relation of the deceased.

Monday Oct^r 16. Nothing special to day. I went this afternoon to Little Cambridge to attend the funeral of M Soddors child which died with the canker, about 7 year old.

Tuesday Oct^r 17. This day died Thomson, souldier of Capⁿ Hooker's company.

Wednesday Oct^r 18. Last night our people went out in a floating battery, & fired a n^o of cannon into the common, but unhappily split one cannon w^h killed 1 man, & several wounded ; one died today. Mr M Sodder gave me a pair of purple coloured gloves. Gen^l Spencer returned to camp from home. Tim^{ms} Fuller, souldier in Captⁿ Wyllys comp^y, died.

Thursday Oct^r 19. This day attended the funerals of Thomson & Fuller. Bought a side of sole leather that weighed 20^{lb} & sent home by Jonathan Clark.

Friday Oct^r 20. A rainy night past and is cloudy & rainy this morning. Major Tupper went to Cambridge, returned at evening, says a post arrived from Casco Bay, & brings intelligence that y^e enemy began to fire on the town at 9 clock yesterday morning ; the occasion was the inhabitants refused to deliver up y^e arms. Several men got out of Boston last night, among whom was the man that brought letters from the Congress y^e were intercepted ; they give but little intelligence for y^e regulars conceal all among themselves.

Saturday Oct' 21st. Very rainy this morning & all the day. A regular deserted last night. He says *yy* think we shall give up when it comes winter; that *yy* shall have a good opportunity to fight us when the leaves are off *y^e* trees &c &c.

Sabbath Oct' 22. Pleasant day, except somewhat windy. Preached all day from 2 Sam^l 10. 12. We hear the enemy have burnt 2 thirds of *y^e* town of Falmouth, Casco Bay.

Monday Oct' 23. Dined this day on turtle, in compa^y with Gen^l Washington & other generals, the brave Doct^r Franklin, M^r Linch & Harrison, com^{tee} from Congress with a great number of gentlemen. And this is all thats remarkable to day.

Tuesday Oct' 24. A raw chilly day. We hear a French vessel arrived lately at Shepcot with 7 ton of powder & a n^o of arms. Not much news from any quarter.

Wednesday Oct' 25. Loveland died last night. Cold & somewhat freezing this morning. Attended Loveland's funeral. A day of rejoicing & firing among *y^e* kings troops in commemoration of Georges reign. We hear that a ship from England loaded with arms run on shore at Barnegat, & our people have taken it.

Thursday Oct' 26. Last night died Gideon Brainard, souldier in Capt^a Willys company. Paid for my side of leather that came to 24/ sent home by Jonath^a Clark, also 4/ towards a calf skin; in a guinea [?] Attended Brainards funeral this day. Paid a half crown bill at the hospital to Bebee for General Spencer. We hear that the regulars burnt Falmouth because they refused them 40 sheep &c.

Friday Oct' 27. Bought a calf skin this day of Sam^l Gove of Roxbury 10/ price which I paid for in a dollar added to the guinea paid on all.

Saturday Oct' 28. No news to day. Esq^r Huntington of Moodus dined here to day.

Sabbath Oct' 29. We took a barge last night of the enemies *y^t* drifted on shore. Lieut. Wadsworth died last night. I preached all day, 40 minutes in the whole service in *y^e* forenoon, & 44 in *y^e* afternoon.

Monday Oct' 30. Attended Lieut. Wadsworths funeral to day. His mother & one of his brothers present. The procession was Ens^a Warner at the head of *y^e* advanced guard with their arms reversed; then the searg^{ts} who were bearers; then the corps covered with black velvet; on the top of the coffin were placed two naked swords with black ribands on *y^e* hilts, crossing each other with *y^e* points forward toward the feet of the corps. Then followed the mourners; *y^a* *y^e* Col^l of *y^e* reg^t, in connection with whom were the field officers of other reg^{ts}; then the capt^s &c of *y^e* same reg^t followed with a large number under arms w^h brought up *y^e* rear. On the fife was played the tune called the Funeral Thoughts. At the end of each line in the tune the drums beat one

stroke. Ens^a had the colours half wound with a black riband flowing from the top of y^e pole.

Tuesday Oct^r 31. Bought me a flanel waistcoat this day, cost 9/2. We hear that Col^l Gorham with about 40 Tories are taken from y^e eastward who went after wood; [also that Harry Knox, who married Secretary Fluckers daughter, and offered himself last June as a voluntary engineer to lay out our works, is taken & discovered to be active in exposing our works to the enemy.] Mistake of y^e clause in the crotchets.

Wednesday Nov^r 1st. Nothing special all this day till about 7 o'clock in the evening, when there was a movement among the souldiery in Col^l Parsons reg^t & ours. A tumult arose wherein there was manifested great uneasiness about y^e being paid in Kalendar months, but the general soon stilled matters. I was out among y^m & advised y^m y^t if they had any difficulties y^y would lay the same before y^e general in some orderly manner, & y^y seemed to hearken, & after a while matters eased away, &c.

Thursday Nov^r 2. This day visited Capt^a Hooker, found him better; dined with Mr. Gordon, an agreeable gent^l.

Friday Oct^r [Nov.] 3. Very rainy latter part of last night, this morning, and all the day proved very wet. This day Isaac Spencer returned with my mare from Connecticut. Nothing special to day.

Saturday Nov^r 4. An express arrived this day to Gen^l Washington informing that our troops had taken Fort Chamble—one major, 2 capt^s 3 lieut^s, a surgeon, commissary, & 83 privates; 124 barrels of powder, 130 barrels of pork, some flour, besides a number of arms. Women & children were brought by St Johns, their husbands saw y^m & told them they should capitulate in a day or 2 & would go with y^m if they would stop. A man come out of Boston who had been a pilot, taken at Marthas Vineyard, & says the regular officers were fixing up the Old North for a play house & y^e Old South for stabling; y^t he believed those y^t refused to take up arms on y^e side of gov^t would have neither bread nor water allowed them.

Sabbath Nov^r 5. Preached in the forenoon. Rained in y^e afternoon. Mr. Cogswell preached in our house to a few, from Joshua 5. 13. 14. 1st Cx is capt^a of all G^d Hosts. 2^d we should engage him on our side. We hear this day that 3 vessels are fallen into our hands, by help of storms & privateers: one loaded with English goods to y^e value of £300: one containing 118 pipes of wine; one containing rum &c.

Monday Nov^r 6. This day I hear a letter from Col^l Arnold dated about y^e 15 of Oct^r came to Gen^l Washington, which says he was in about 60 miles of Quebeck; y^t y^e people joined him abundantly, & everything appeared most favourable. Good news!

Tuesday Nov^r 7. Lieut. Champion returned this day from privateer-

ing, & says they went out of Plymouth last sabbath, & returned yesterday with 2 prizes : one vessel of 90 & y^e other 70 tuns from y^e eastward loaded with cattle, sheep, wood, hay, fowl, &c., &c. One of y^e vessels belonged to Daniel Hubbud of Boston, a late addresser of Gage. He gave a 1000 dollars for the vessel just before she went her voyage.

Wednesday Nov^r 8. Tis said troops are come in, & some in the offing to the n^o of 2,500; several persons came out of Boston to day who give this acc^t.

Thursday Nov^r 9. About one clock this afternoon a party of regulars in about 16 or 18 boats, 5 or 600 in number landed on a point of land called Letchmores Point, in order to get some cattle, our people rallied about 2000 and came to meet them; the enemy soon left the ground & took to their boats; they killed 2 rifle men & one of our men; they ran a bayonet into an old cow, which was left in her.

The above acc^t cant be relied on: no man was killed, one rifle man wounded is since dead; a rifle man taken, he was in liquor when taken; not above 5 or 600 of our men went; not above 3 or 400 of the enemy; indeed there is no certainty can be come at.

Friday Nov^r 10. Last night was a very rainy blustering night. I hope the enemy may have had some evidence that Heaven frowns on them. Mr. Fuller come here to day, went to Cambridge. Some troops supposed to arrive this day.

Saturday Nov^r 11. Little or no news. Mr. Galpin told me that Mr Clark died last Monday the 6th inst. suddenly with a fit.

Day before yesterday came in	23 vessels
To this no, add the following	3 ships of war
and 5 merchant ships	5
	1 Brig
This acc ^t from a man who observed at Nantasket	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="font-size: 3em; vertical-align: middle; line-height: 1;">{</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> Topsail schooners One sloop one schooner Three shallops A large fleet </div> </div>
	3
	1
	1
	3
	40 Sail

Sabbath Nov^r 12. Last night 4 regulars came up to our lower centres, and talked with, but our centres not having y^e guns charged they went off again after a while: Stupidity in our men, they might have been taken well enough! A cold blustering day. We had but one meeting in the middle of the day: but a few could attend. A man from Connecticut, Frink by name, says Gov^r Trumbull told him day before yesterday, that St Johns was taken. Tis said from headquarters that y^e one marching reg^t & 3 companies of troops lately arrived of the royal train.

[*Here the Diary ends.*]

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN presented a letter written in 1694 by John Tulley to Benjamin Harris, his publisher in Boston, and then said that the writer in his day had some fame as a maker of almanacs, and was well-known throughout New England. He was born near London, and when a lad came to this country with his widowed mother, who afterward married again and settled in Connecticut. The son lived and died at Saybrook in that State, where the letter is dated. His death took place on Oct. 5, 1701. An account of the Tulley family is printed in "The New England Historical & Genealogical Register" (III. 157) for April, 1849, which contains "much wild legend," says Mr. Savage. According to the catalogue of Ante-Revolutionary Publications, which appears in the sixth volume of the Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society, Tulley's Almanacks were first issued for 1687, and continued each year until 1702. Of these sixteen numbers the Historical Society possesses thirteen, including the last number, a posthumous publication, which is printed with a mourning border around the titlepage. It is interesting to note that in his Almanacks he always began the year with the month of January, — more than half a century before the legal change was made from Old Style to New, — and he was among the earliest to adopt the custom in this country.

In this letter Tulley makes an allusion to Mr. Brattle, another almanac-maker, though it is somewhat doubtful whether he refers to Thomas or William, who were brothers and both graduates of Harvard College, and each the author of an almanac published some time before that period. Presumably Brattle's almanac mentioned in the letter was for 1694; and if so, it may have been an almanac published in that year, bearing on the titlepage the pseudonym of "Philo Mathemat." William Brattle's Almanack for 1682 had on the titlepage after the name of the author "Philomath," which seems to suggest a common author. And furthermore there is a resemblance between the titles of the two publications, one of which reads "An Ephemeris of Cœlestial Motions, Aspects, Eclipses, &c. For the Year of the Christian Æra 1682," and was printed by Samuel Green; and the other, "An Almanack of the Cœlestiall Motions, Aspects and Eclipses, &c. For the Year of our Lord God, M DC XC IV," and was printed by Bartholomew Green, a son of Samuel, though I attach but little importance to this fact. According

to the catalogue of the Antiquarian Society, as published in their Transactions, there were only two almanacs for 1694 printed in this country; and they were Tulley's, and the one by "Philo Mathemat," mentioned above. For these reasons I am inclined to think that William Brattle was the writer of the anonymous almanac for 1694, and that Tulley, in his letter, alluded to the same publication.

Benjamin Harris, to whom the letter is addressed, was a well-known printer and bookseller in Boston. He came originally from London about the year 1690, and returned there not long after the date of the letter. John Dunton, in his "Life and Errors" (pages 293, 294), speaks of him in complimentary terms.

M^r HARRIS

Kind S^r, These may let you vnderstand that about a moneth since I rec^d a quire of papour, & one bound almanack and one of M^r Brattells almanacks that you sent me by the post, for which I returne you many thanks for yo^r care therein, And the last fryday night I receiued of M^r Blague a letter fro^m you bearing date Aprill the 30th 1694 with M^r Hollwells predictions inclosed, My wife hath also receiued seuerall loueing tokens sent to her by yo^r good wife, for which she is much engaged to her for her kindness, being much troubled that at p^rsant she cannot requite her kindness in any measure S^r, besides the new booke & printed papours, pins, needles tape, lace & spice that your good wife sent to my wife, I receiued a sheete of large papour that you sent me to write the Almanack vpon, but it hath receiued some damage by reason of the wet weather the last weeke, the other things escaped pretty well saue only the spice some of it perhaps might be lost, S^r I haue not time now to enlarge nor to write to you about the almanacke but I purpose (god willing) by M^r Blague to write to you about it for I intend it for you I had not wrote vnto you now but haueing soe good an oppertunity I thought meet to acquaint you of the things I haue receiued since I sent you my last letter. S^r, my wife p^rsents her humble seruice to yo^rself & to your good wife tho: vnkowne giueing her many thanks for the loueing tokens sent her, Thus with my loueing respects p^rsented to you & M^rs Harris being in hast I rest, yo^r loueing ffriend

JOHN TULLEY *senior*

SAT-BROOKE May the 7th 1694

M^r Blague & sen^{all} others of my neighbours intend (god willing) to set out vpon their journey for Boston the begining of the nixt weeke.

[Addressed] These For M^r Benj^s Harris Printer at the Sign of the Bible, ouer against the blew-Anchor — In Boston p^rsent with care ¶ M^r Nath^l Lynde

Rev. EDWARD G. PORTER, being called on by the President, spoke substantially as follows : —

Mr. President, — The attention of the country has been directed this week to the northwest coast, where the people of three States are celebrating the centenary of the finding and naming of their great river, the Columbia.

As our Society has among its treasures a medal and three quaint pictures,¹ illustrating some of the memorable achievements of the ship "Columbia" a hundred years ago, I thought I would have them placed upon the table for the inspection of members at this meeting.

The medal is of bronze,² and was struck in 1787 to commemorate the departure of the "Columbia" and her consort, the sloop "Washington," for the northwest coast. It bears the names of the six owners, and a fair relief of the two vessels.

The origin of this commercial enterprise may be traced to the interest awakened by the accounts of Captain Cook's last voyage. John Ledyard, a young American who had sailed with him, published his private journal with a chart in Hartford in 1783, dedicating it to Governor Trumbull. Ledyard is credited with being the first man in America or Europe to advocate the opening of a trade in furs between the northwest coast and China. He convinced Robert Morris of the advantages of such an enterprise, and sought the co-operation of New York merchants; but his scheme was generally regarded as visionary. He then went to France, and enlisted Jefferson and Paul Jones in his favor; but as the necessary means were wanting he repaired to London, and there was encouraged by such men as Sir James Hall and Sir Joseph Banks, through whose aid a ship was fitted out for Nootka; but for some unexplained reason the project fell through.

¹ Given to the Society by Joseph Russell in 1795. They are painted upon glass, after the original drawings by Davidson exhibited at this meeting. A duplicate set of these three copies is in possession of Mrs. Frank B. Sanborn of Concord, who inherited them from her grandfather, Samuel Yendell, one of the "Columbia's" crew. The Chinese marks upon some of the old frames would indicate that they were made perhaps while the ship was in port near Canton.

² Given to the Society by Joseph Barrell in 1791. A few were struck in silver for the owners, and a large number in pewter, intended for distribution among the natives of the Pacific. As the State of Massachusetts had established a mint in Boston in 1787 for the coining of cents and half cents, it is natural to suppose that the projectors of this expedition had their medals struck at the same place.

Cook's official journal was published in 1784, and his suggestions of a remunerative fur-trade with the Indians were widely discussed in commercial circles both in England and America. In this country the first men to take up the matter in earnest were those whose names are upon this medal, headed by Joseph Barrell,¹ a well-known and prosperous merchant of this town, who often visited at the house of Dr. Thomas Bulfinch in Bowdoin Square, where in the winter of 1786-87 the plan was fully developed. Charles Bulfinch, the doctor's son (afterward a member of this Society), was in Barrell's counting-house for a time before making architecture his profession. Captain John Derby (or Darby, as it appears on the medal) was a son of Richard Derby of Salem, and acquired distinction by taking the news of the battle of Lexington to England in advance of the official tidings. Samuel Brown and Crowell Hatch were Boston men, and John Marsden Pintard was one of the leading New York merchants of that period.

These six gentlemen formed a company, and purchased the ship "Columbia,"² two hundred and twelve tons, and the sloop "Washington,"³ ninety tons, and put Capt. John Kendrick in command, with Capt. Robert Gray in charge of the sloop. The vessels⁴ sailed from Boston Sept. 30, 1787, and touched at the Cape Verde and Falkland Islands, and rounding Cape Horn in April reached Nootka Sound (on what is now called Vancouver's Island) in September, 1788. There they passed the winter in Friendly Cove.

Having secured a good cargo of furs the following season, Kendrick decided to send Gray home with the "Columbia," while he remained cruising with the sloop. Accordingly, Gray sailed from Clayoquot Sound July 30, 1789, for China, calling at the Hawaiian Islands for provisions. The "Columbia" was consigned to Messrs. Shaw & Randall, a new Boston firm just established at Canton. The furs were sold at a much lower rate than was anticipated; and the ship took in

¹ The Society has a collection of some of the Barrell papers relating to the "Columbia," given by Mr. Charles H. Joy.

² Or "Columbia Rediviva," as she was often called after this. She was built by James Briggs at Hobart's Landing on North River, Scituate, in 1773.

³ Sometimes called "Lady Washington."

⁴ For a more detailed account of this enterprise, with illustrations from the original drawings, see the author's article in the "New England Magazine," June, 1892.

a cargo of Bohea tea, and returned to Boston by the Cape of Good Hope, having sailed about forty-nine thousand miles by her log.

As this was the first time that our flag had been carried around the world, the arrival of the "Columbia" on the 10th of August, 1790, was an occasion of great rejoicing. Salutes from the Castle and from the town's artillery greeted the returned voyagers, and thousands of citizens assembled on the wharves. General Lincoln, the collector of the port, went on board with a party of friends; and Governor Hancock gave a reception to the owners and officers,¹ which was largely attended. Captain Gray walked up State Street in the procession by the side of a young Hawaiian chief whom he had brought home with him,—the first of his race ever to visit this country.

Although the voyage was not a profitable one to the owners, so that Derby and Pintard sold out their shares, yet the others were sanguine enough to retain the ship and send her once more on the same errand. Gray remained as captain; and Robert Haswell,² who had been with him, now shipped as first officer. They sailed Sept. 28, 1790, and reached Clayoquot June 4, 1791. There they established their headquarters, and put up a large log house, which they called Fort Defence. During the winter they built a sloop of forty-four tons called the "Adventure," being the second³ vessel ever launched on that coast.

One of these pictures represents Captain Gray talking with the ship's carpenter, Samuel Yendell, about the sloop, which is seen on the stocks, while the men are busy all around, and the ship lies moored in the harbor. It is worthy of mention that our esteemed Governor Russell is a descendant of this Mr. Yendell, who was a native of the North End, and who served on the frigate *Tartar* in the Revolution, and also helped to build the famous *Constitution*. He lived to be the last survivor

¹ Joseph Ingraham, first officer of the "Columbia," presented to Harvard College, immediately after his return, a collection of curiosities gathered in the Pacific on this voyage.

² We are indebted to Haswell for the fullest account extant of the two voyages, although his journal is incomplete. He was half-brother to Susanna Rowson, the author of "*Charlotte Temple*," whose memoir by Nason is in our Library.

³ The first was the schooner "*Northwest America*," built by Meares in 1788.

of the "Columbia's" crew, and died in 1861. Mr. Winthrop remembers the old gentleman, and heard from his own lips interesting accounts of the "Columbia's" voyage.

Another picture gives us Captain Gray in the Straits of Fuca, "obliged to fire upon the natives, who disregard his orders to keep off." The war-canoes are seen all about, with twenty or thirty men in each, evidently alarmed by the discharge of the ship's cannon.

The other picture in the possession of our Society shows an attempt by the savages near Chickleset to capture the ship on a moonlight night. The painting has become very indistinct; but I am fortunate enough to have found the original drawing by George Davidson,¹ of Charlestown, one of the crew, who shipped as painter, and who was evidently quite an artist. He also made several other sketches, which are upon the table.

One represents the ship at anchor at the Falkland Islands. Captain Gray stands on the shore by his tent, holding a chart in his hand and talking with one of his officers. Several of the crew are busy filling the water-casks, and one is seen shooting birds on the beach.

Another drawing shows the "Columbia" in a squall; and the last one represents her probably at Whampoa, where Captain Gray, standing under a tree, is facing a fleet of vessels lying in the roads, "while conversing with a friend upon the discovery of Oregon." That was indeed a memorable discovery, and it formed the theme of many a conversation in those days; but the full significance of it did not appear till half a century later. The story in brief is this.

In the spring of '92 Gray had sent the "Adventure" on a cruise to the northward under Haswell to collect skins, while he took the "Columbia" on the same errand to the southward. When in lat. 46° 10', he saw a long stretch of formidable breakers, and was convinced that he was off the mouth of a great river. He approached the bar several times, but the outsetting current was so strong that he did not get over, though he remained there nine days hoping to do so.

On the 29th of April, near the Straits of Fuca, he fell in with Vancouver, who had just come out from England with

¹ Three of these original drawings belong to Mr. Francis Stowell, of Charlestown, a grandson of Davidson. The other three are the property of Mrs. Abby Bancroft Twombly, of Newton, a granddaughter of Captain Gray.

three naval vessels, to explore the coast and to execute the provisions of the Nootka Convention. The interview was an interesting one. The English commander said he had made no discoveries as yet, and inquired if Gray had made any. The Yankee skipper replied that he had, and narrated his recent experience off the breakers in lat. 46° . Vancouver said this must have been the opening passed by him two days before, which, he thought, might be "a small river;" but "not considering this opening worthy of more attention," he continued on his course, and by his own words surrendered whatever title he might have had to the honor of discovering the greatest American river emptying into the Pacific.

Undaunted by Vancouver's scepticism, Gray was resolved to prove the existence of that river; and so again he headed for the breakers. On the way, in lat. $46^{\circ} 58'$, he discovered (May 7) a fine, large, sheltered anchorage, which he called Bulfinch Harbor, but which was soon after named by others in his honor, Gray's Harbor, the name which it still bears. Here he was attacked by the savages, and had to fire upon them with serious results.

At daybreak on the 11th—one hundred years ago yesterday—Gray spied the entrance to his river; and the wind being favorable, he bore away and ran in, under full sail, through the breakers. At once he saw that his surmises were correct. Here was a magnificent stream of fresh water, four or five miles wide, up which he sailed ten miles, and then came to anchor in ten fathoms. The astonished natives came out in great numbers, and showed a friendly disposition. On the 14th the ship stood up the river some fifteen miles farther, and being convinced that it was navigable for an indefinite distance, the captain decided to return. On the 19th he landed with his crew near the mouth of the river, and formally named it, after his ship, the COLUMBIA, raising the flag, and planting some coins under a pine-tree, near the bold headland which he called Cape Hancock, and opposite the low spit on the other shore which he named Point Adams.

In claiming this honor for the Boston ship we are not unmindful of the fact that the river had a mythical existence long before. D'Aguilar and Carver and Heceta had referred to it, but in a very indefinite manner. No writer had ever correctly described it, or given it its proper place on a map.

Its mouth, if given at all, was put anywhere between the straits of Anian (Fuca) and California. And Meares, who was Gray's contemporary on the coast, tried to find it in 1788, and declared that there was no such river there by naming the inlet Deception Bay and the headland Cape Disappointment.

There is ample proof, therefore, that Gray was the first white man to cross the bar and anchor in those waters, and tell the world what he had done. He made the first chart of the shores, and raised the first flag that ever floated over them; and the name he gave to the river has been universally accepted. Upon this discovery largely—followed as it was by the Lewis and Clarke expedition, and the settlement at Astoria—"the Oregon question," after long and heated controversy, was decided in our favor in 1846.

The "Columbia" reached Boston July 29, 1793. The owners were again disappointed in their profits, but the country at large has reaped a rich reward.

Mr. Porter's communication elicited brief remarks by Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT, Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, Hon. GEORGE S. HALE, Hon. E. R. HOAR, and Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, with reference to the name Oregon, applied by Bryant to the Columbia River, and to the settlement of the dispute with Great Britain.

Dr. WILLIAM EVERETT spoke as follows:—

I regretted very much, sir, that the business of the Annual Meeting prevented a more detailed mention of the historical services of our late honorary member, Prof. Edward Augustus Freeman. The position which he occupied was so unique in the department of thought and literature which this Society calls its own, that it seems improper not to dwell with some particularity on the elements of his power. I do not propose to give a complete or even a partial list of his works. Such may be found in the obituary notices written of him in his own country.

Such a notice which appeared in a Boston paper spoke of him as a great historical scholar, but not a great historian; and the writer left us in little doubt how he interpreted that phrase, for he spoke in terms of the highest eulogy of the late J. R. Green as his master's superior. I do not believe

vigorous sense of the great ancient writers, and transfusing it into his own thoughts.

We must deeply regret his premature death, in the midst of a lively, acute, profound work, on a subject teeming with interest of every kind, — the History of Sicily; and it is some consolation to us to feel that our associate, Professor Goodwin, has rendered active assistance to both author and printer in perfecting the portion already published.

Mr. WILLIAM W. GOODWIN then said:—

It was my good fortune to visit Sicily in 1890 in company with Mr. Freeman, and I can confirm from my personal experience all that Dr. Everett has said of the great historian's conscientious fidelity. He had a positive repugnance to taking anything at second hand. He never adopted an opinion or a statement of another if it was within his power to verify it by his own observation. When we were in Syracuse, an article came to us in which it was maintained that the suburb called Achradina was never enclosed in a wall so as to be part of ancient Syracuse. Although Mr. Freeman was suffering from gout, so that he could not wear a shoe, he immediately proposed to test the question by an examination of the whole circuit of Achradina, which he made on foot in felt slippers. Any one who has ever climbed the rocky hills and crossed the craggy ravines of that peninsula will know what this means. There was no difficulty in finding either the stones of the wall or the marks of them in the scarped rocks, through the whole circuit of several miles; but no assurances which I could give him of the traces of the walls could prevent him from climbing each hill and seeing for himself. He was equally persistent and unwearied at Girgenti in tracing the lines of the ancient walls and in following the successive steps of the Carthaginian siege.

He had a great contempt for the ways of some writers on modern history, who, when they touch on ancient history, are content to borrow their facts and their quotations from other modern writers. Mr. Freeman never went from one town to another in Sicily without carrying with him a classical library. Thucydides, Herodotus, Diodorus, Polybius, and Livy were always on the table (or on the floor) wherever he spent a night; and he had his heroes, especially Schubring and Holm, even

among the German authorities, of whom he sometimes spoke collectively in rather slighting terms. The classic authorities were always the basis of his narrative: he never gave his own or any other modern view merely modified by ancient authority. All the classic quotations in his history were copied by his own hand from the texts themselves. His knowledge of the Greek authors was by no means confined to the historians; although he took comparatively little interest in the poets generally, he was very familiar with Pindar, whose Sicilian odes he knew by heart and often repeated to himself as he walked about Syracuse or Girgenti. I believe he was the first to suggest what now seems to me the only intelligible explanation of the Sixth Olympian ode, written for the Syracusan and Stymphalian Agesias. It was always the substance rather than the form which attracted him in this, as in all literature. He wrote me a year ago of his meeting a distinguished scholar when he went to see the newly discovered poems of Herondas on their first appearance at Oxford. Both scholars examined the new treasure with deep interest. But Freeman said to a friend whom he met in the street as he was going away, "Is n't it queer that E—— does n't want to know what is in Herondas, but only cares for the metre" (the "lame iambic")? The other met the same gentleman a few minutes later and said, "Is n't it queer that Freeman did n't care for the metre of Herondas, and only wanted to know what he wrote about?"

The three volumes of the History of Sicily, ending with the year 403 B.C., are a fragment, but still a solid and a most precious fragment, of a work which perhaps no man except the author would have ventured to undertake on so grand a scale.

HON. GEORGE S. HALE, Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR, and Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES also related some personal reminiscences of Mr. Freeman.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN presented, in behalf of Mr. WILLIAM H. WHITMORE, the memoir of the late Augustus T. Perkins, which Mr. Whitmore was appointed to prepare for the Proceedings.

MEMOIR
OF
AUGUSTUS THORNDIKE PERKINS, A.M.

BY WILLIAM H. WHITMORE.

AUGUSTUS THORNDIKE PERKINS was born in Boston, Sept. 28, 1827, and died in the same city, April 21, 1891. He was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society in February, 1872, and at the date of his death he stood twenty-ninth upon our roll.

Although our late associate was a man of very distinct individuality, his personal traits were so largely hereditary and so universally associated with previous bearers of the name, that it would be impossible to present a true portrait of him without embodying therein the recollections of at least three generations. Should this memoir therefore seem to be more of a genealogy than a biography, I trust the result will justify the method; and I must also plead the fact that the materials therefor were collected by our friend, in a little volume of a kind almost without a parallel in our literature. The extensive quotations which follow are not only the history of his ancestors, but an admirable revelation of the mind and heart of the compiler.

The Perkins family in New England has originated from several distinct stocks, at Topsfield, Ipswich, Hampton, and Dover, as is set forth in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1856. The Boston family originating with Edmund Perkins is not known to be closely connected with either of the preceding. The emigrant Edmund Perkins married in Boston, about 1677, Susanna, daughter of Francis Hudson and widow of — Howlett.



Augustus Thorndike Perkins

Our author had some grounds for the belief that the emigrant belonged to the family of Perkins of Ufton, co. Berks. It is certain that the tombstone of the oldest son of the emigrant, who died in 1682, aged four years, has engraved upon it a shield of arms; namely, a fesse dancette between six billets, three and three.¹ Similar arms, varying only in the number of billets, are on a seal used in 1725 by Dr. John Perkins of Ipswich, a grandson of John Perkins, the emigrant in that town. There was possibly a connection between these two branches in New England; certainly an intimacy. Capt. Edmund¹ Perkins lived near the foot of Hanover Street, Boston, and died in 1693, leaving sons John² and Edmund². Family tradition bears witness to his strength and spirit; more certain mementos are his two swords and a few of his books, which his descendants possess. His son Edmund² Perkins of Boston (1683-1761) was twice married. By his first wife he was grandfather of Major William⁴ Perkins, an officer in the Revolution, whose great-grandsons James⁷ and William⁷ E. served bravely in the late Rebellion. By his second wife Edmund² had four sons, the youngest being James³, whose line we trace.

Of this Edmund² we get some details rather unusual at that date. "He was sharp of tongue and heavy of hand, very witty, a great hunter and fisherman like his father, very skilful in the use of arms and tools. He excelled in wood-carving, was extravagantly fond of wrestling, boxing, and fencing, and especially devoted to the latter exercise." His house on Water Street was "a long two-story building with a gambrell roof, the gable on the street, but back from it; a wide yard in front of the porch at the front door, with quite large elm-trees and a garden of some size behind."

James³ Perkins, born in 1733, married at the age of twenty-two, Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Handasyde Peck, a merchant, in whose counting-house he had been educated. Dying at the age of forty years, he makes but little impression upon the record, except the memory of being an ardent

¹ This gravestone was found by accident while digging for the foundations of a house in a court leading out of Eliot Street near Warrenton Street. I had the pleasure of calling Mr. Perkins's attention to it, and we examined it together before it was removed. It was afterwards given to him, and a photograph was inserted in his "Notice of the Perkins Arms in England," Salem, 1878.

patriot as well as a diligent and methodical merchant. He left a widow and eight children, all of whom married. These were James, Thomas H., Samuel G., Mrs. Russell Sturgis, Mrs. Robert Cushing, Mrs. Benjamin Abbot, Mrs. Josiah Sturgis, and Mrs. Ralph B. Forbes. The widow, in the words of Thomas G. Cary, "was a woman of excellent principles and remarkable energy, and undertook the heavy charge thus devolved upon her with deep solicitude (as appeared from a subsequent reference of her own to this passage of her life), but with firmness and ability; courageously assuming the business of her husband, who had been connected with George Erving, one of the principal merchants in the town."¹

The father lived on King (now State) Street, close by the site of the Boston Massacre; and his son Thomas H. distinctly remembered the details of the scene. During the British occupation of Boston Mrs. Perkins removed with her children to Barnstable, returning hither to renew her mercantile relations. Her last days were passed in her home near Sea Street,² where she took an active part in the charitable associations of the town, and where she died in 1807.

Her three sons all chose the profession of merchant,—a designation then properly so applied, since to be the owner and employer of vessels in foreign commerce required a training as thorough, as technical, and as prolonged as that for either of the academic professions. At a time when the shores of half the world were unknown or unvisited, when voyages required years for completion, and when a knowledge of the political future of empires was a prerequisite to success in mercantile ventures, to be a merchant called for a high quality of intellect as well as of enthusiasm for the labor. It is a matter of history that after our Revolution the sons of New England obtained a foremost place in this pur-

¹ Memoir of Thomas Handasyde Perkins, p. 5.

² "This house was a large, square building, standing back from the street, which bounded the beach about a hundred feet away. In the front garden were fine horse-chestnut trees, and many flower-beds with sunflowers and tall hollyhocks, very prominent, and oddly enough, quite a number of peach-trees, which bore finely at that time; there were also plums and apricots. Behind the house was a stable and a vegetable garden. The house was of two stories and a half, with a great porch in front having seats in it, whence a fine and unobstructed view of the Bay was obtained. There was nothing but Sea Street between them and the water."

suit, and the honor was due to none more than to James and Thomas H. Perkins. In 1785 James established a house in St. Domingo, then one of the most prosperous of the French colonies. Here Thomas joined him for a time, and Samuel G., a younger brother, later; Thomas returned to Boston in 1788, married, and began his prosperous career by a voyage to China. In 1792 the insurrection in St. Domingo¹ nearly ruined his brothers there, and they were forced to return to Boston. Stephen married Miss Higginson, and became a partner in the house of Higginson & Co. The other two brothers formed the firm of J. & T. H. Perkins, which continued for thirty years.

In 1819 each brother admitted into the firm his son of his own name. James, Sr., died in August, 1822, aged sixty-one; his son James, Jr., died in June, 1828; Thomas H., Jr. (hereinafter noticed), "after a few years of remarkable success, withdrew with a good fortune"; Thomas H., Sr., finally dissolved the firm in 1838.

In respect to James Perkins,² it will be sufficient to refer to the memoir in our volumes. His liberality was shown "by his gifts to the General Hospital and to the Theological School at Cambridge, his bequest to the University for the foundation of a Professorship of Mathematics, and above all by the gift of his house on Pearl Street to the Trustees of the Boston Athenæum." Thomas H. Perkins was equally noted for his public spirit and generosity. One most memorable instance was in 1833, when he gave his dwelling-house on Pearl Street for the establishment of the Asylum for the Blind, which will perpetuate his name. In view of Mr. Cary's admirable memoir, I will merely cite the words of our honored ex-President, Mr. Winthrop, spoken in 1854: "Thomas Handasyde Perkins was one of the noblest specimens of humanity to which our city has ever given birth, leading the way for half a century in every generous

¹ See a very interesting account of this insurrection, written in 1835, by Samuel G. Perkins, printed in our Proceedings, 2d series, vol. ii. pp. 305-390. Mr. Perkins died on his birthday, May 24, 1847, aged eighty years.

² James Perkins, Sr., was chosen a Corresponding Member of this Society in 1792, and a Resident Member in 1796. See a memoir by his grandson in our Proceedings, vol. i. p. 353. This grandson (by James, Jr.) was Charles Callahan Perkins, born in 1823, died in 1886, eminent for his literary abilities and his devotion to the arts and to education. He was elected a Resident Member in December, 1874; and a memoir by Samuel Eliot will be found in our Proceedings, 2d series, vol. iii. pp. 223-246.



enterprise, and setting one of the earliest examples of those munificent charities which have given our city a name and a praise throughout the earth."

To resume the thread of family history, it may be here said that Thomas H. Perkins was a man of most distinguished appearance. His well-known portrait confirms the report of his contemporaries, that his stature, his courtesy, his speech, and his writings all evidenced a leader among men. And in his generation such advantages were of more than local importance. After the Revolution our country was to be tested in Europe by such citizens as visited there in a private capacity. The power of our fleets, both the official and the commercial portions, was beyond question. It was a distinct gain to our reputation that we had also great merchants, like Mr. Perkins, who were the equals of the Barings, the Hopes, and the Hottinguers, and who maintained in foreign courts and exchanges the honor of the American name.

It has already been noted that Thomas H. Perkins, Jr., was associated with his father, and that he predeceased him. In the "Sketch" from which I shall now make extracts, the home life of this generation is traced by a loving hand. The son was born in 1796, and was fitted for Harvard at the age of fifteen. The ardor of his disposition, however, frustrated all such plans; and at an early age he sailed for China, duly enrolled as captain of marines in a letter-of-marque owned by his father. This vessel carried eighteen guns, one hundred and fifty men, and twenty-five marines. On their outward passage they had a smart encounter with a British troop-ship, besides other warlike adventures. After his return Mr. Perkins started on a cruise to Valparaiso; and after spending some months there, he sailed to London. In this city he became acquainted with General Devereux, the agent of the Colombian Republic, who was recruiting soldiers for the war against the Spaniards. Mr. Perkins was appointed on his staff, serving for about two years and attaining to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. The story of his life abroad is well told in Mr. A. T. Perkins's book;¹ but I will copy only two pen-portraits, both drawn by General Devereux:—

¹ A Private Proof, printed in order to preserve certain matters connected with the Boston branch of the Perkins Family. Intended only as an indication of the best points of future investigation. Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son, Printers. 1890. Pp. 112.

"The first time I saw your father, in London, I was immensely struck with him. He was a tremendous dandy, to be sure, but he stood six feet in his boots, — straight as an arrow, and with the air about him of a soldier who had seen service. He was very handsome, and very pleasant-looking also. What struck me was his perfect manners, mixed with a quiet determination which sat well upon him. Although I knew from his father that for his age he had seen much of life, I could not get him to talk of himself. He seemed at least twenty-three, but I knew him to be only about twenty. I looked him well over, and had him about me as much as I could for nearly a month. . . .

"I well remember a hearty laugh I had at him once, when his orders were that he should report for duty at headquarters, at 2.30 P. M., on a certain day. Prompt to the moment he reported. Without noticing him at first, I said, 'Here, Captain, sit down. I wish to dictate a despatch.' 'Would you be so kind, General, as to let me ring for your valet, because, you see, I have on my walking breeches, and one cannot sit down without they are unbuttoned at the knees.' 'Can't sit down in your walking breeches!' said I. 'Why? I can sit down in mine.' 'Yes, General, of course; but then Preston evidently is not your breeches-maker.' To which I answered, 'Come here, you absurd dandy, and let me look at you.' I remember he said he had been walking with Lady Jane and a lady friend of hers, and, of course, had to be very smart. He looked as if he had been run into his top boots and breeches, so perfect was the fit. His waistcoat was buff; his coat — an admirable effort of the great Stultz — blue, with gilt buttons and a velvet collar; a white cambric cravat, and a white hat and gloves, with a little gold-mounted stick, completed the morning dress of a dandy of that day; 'and a very pretty dress I think it was,' said the old General, 'for a well-made, handsome young fellow.'"

May 14, 1820, soon after his return, Colonel Perkins married Miss Jane Frances Rebecca Dumaesq; and in her instance also we are presented with a most characteristic sketch: —

"Not long after his arrival in Boston my mother came up from Swan Island, on the Kennebec River, where her father lived on an estate which he inherited from his mother, a daughter of Sylvester Gardiner, Esq. This gentleman owned some hundred thousand acres of land between Bath and Gardiner, which latter town he founded. Miss Dumaesq was making a visit to her relatives, the family of the Rev. John Sylvester Gardiner, Rector of Trinity Church, in Boston. She at once became noted, not only for her excessive beauty, but also for her grace and charming manners. Even as I remember her she was almost the most beautiful woman I ever saw. Her figure was perfect, as were her teeth and complexion; but the most striking points about her were her

eyes — the color of dark sapphire — and her hair, which was wonderful. I have heard of raven hair, but never saw it but on her. I have been told that when she was married her hair swept the floor when she loosened it. Ordinarily it was black, but in the sun I have often seen upon it the sheen of steel-colored blue, such as one sees in the sunlight on a crow's wing; and she was as brave as she was beautiful, and as courteous and gentle as a long line of ancestors of De Carterets and Dumaresqs could make her. She had a vein of fun about her too, yet she could never see that of Dickens in 'Pickwick.' She always said she could not understand the pleasure my father and I took in those papers. To her they seemed not vulgar, but common. In fact she was an aristocrat to the tips of her fingers, and such she remained to the end of her days."

The following description reveals a manner of life in New England which is almost unique. During the past thirty years immense changes have been made in social life, and summer residences are no longer a novelty. The seashore and the mountains are now thronged, until it seems as if every pleasant beach and every wholesome upland had found a wealthy owner. But fifty or sixty years ago, the charms of country life were much less apparent, and the large circle of connections of which Thomas H. Perkins was the centre, was perhaps the only one which reproduced here one of the most innocent and enjoyable features of English life.

"About this time business with China began to wane, and Colonel Perkins retired with what in those days was a very handsome fortune. He then decided to do what he had always wished, which was to pass some months during the summer in the house he had built on Swan Island, near Richmond, in the Kennebec River, on the place first owned by the great-grandfather of my mother, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner. The old house built by Dr. Gardiner, more than a century before, then stood a hundred yards away from the new one, as firm and strong as a white oak frame and wrought nails ever stood, a most picturesque object with its great porch, huge chimney, and long sloping roof. It was placed just above the river, with two mighty oaks, each twelve feet in circumference, between it and the beautiful birches, maples, oaks, and beeches, which fringed the water; and between that and the house was the well, with its long sweep fastened to a limb of one of those giant trees.

"On both sides of it, and to the rear, was a great grass field, dotted over with some very fine oaks and elms, young fellows, — not much over a hundred and fifty years old, while at the back and all around was the virgin forest, which had never been cut, but thinned from time to time.

The place was a small one, only about two hundred acres, but it was certainly beautiful. There were upon it, in my young days, five white-pine trees that were over a hundred and fifty feet in height, not by guess, but by measurements made by Major Barney, of Baltimore, an officer in the Engineer Corps of the United States Army.

"There were six sugar maples on it, each measuring fifteen feet in girth, — splendid old fellows, with large spaces around them, cleared from the forest, I believe, by my grandfather Dumaresq, a great lover of fine trees ; and there were many beautiful oaks, both white and red, which came near to the proportions of the two giants in front of the old house. To the north about a hundred yards away on a beautifully timbered bluff, high above the water, stood my father's place, large and handsome, with a delightful view of the river from the piazza. The rooms were many and ample, and all the appointments extremely comfortable. The hall, morning-room, and dining-room would be good anywhere. This house was burned to the ground in two hours, in 1839 ; and my father's shooting-box, a very pretty little cottage however, took its place. . . .

"The Colonel always took his horses, or some of them to the island, with a light carriage ; and occasionally we drove to Gardiner on a visit to our relatives, the Gardiners of Oaklands, a lovely place, and a really beautiful house ; but this involved having the horses and pony phaeton (we call them Victorias now) ferried twice across the wide Kennebec ; so, as a rule, the horses were principally used in riding-lessons for us, the youngsters. Our other occupations were boating on the river, for we had all sorts of craft, from the 'Dream' of 40 tons (on which excursions to the mouth of the Kennebec were made) to sail and rowing boats, with dug-outs, and canoes of all kinds and sizes. . . .

"I have hunted all over the northwest country, and the Lilly Bay Mountains about Moose Head Lake, and also the Adirondack Mountains forty years and more ago when it was a real wilderness, and have bagged moose and deer galore. I have fished with a fly the outlet of the Kennebec, and the Rackett and Blue Mountain Lake, where big trout were only too plenty. I took on a fly in two weeks forty great salmon from the Nipisquit, and it was all fine sport ; but, for real pleasure, I think I have had as much while duck-shooting on the Kennebec of a fine autumn, as I ever had anywhere.

"Where we shot was on the Great Flats, between the Eastern River and the Kennebec. Near them lived a cousin of mine, Mr. Robert Patterson, an admirable sportsman and a charming gentleman. A day with him in September, when the river was like glass, a light haze softening all objects, the high banks glowing with the splendid reds and yellows of the maples, was a real pleasure ; and though, unlike the Englishman, we did not say, 'What a fine day ; let us go at once and kill something,'

we must have had an inkling of that feeling, for we kept the sharpest of lookouts for the long lines of ducks in their V-shaped flocks coming down from the north. We never killed a great many at one time. The largest bag I ever made to my own gun in one day was twenty-six ; but the shooting was quite enough for any gentleman sportsman, and the surroundings were very beautiful. . . .

"The Colonel loved in Boston to exercise a generous hospitality, especially in the direction of numerous small dinner-parties during the winter and spring. His theory was ten persons at a round table, eight besides my mother and himself. Our own men-servants always waited on table, with one other hired footman. Amoy, our Chinese butler, who lived with us many years, was always gorgeous in the costume of his country. Flowers and tropical fruits were very rare on the dinner-tables of fifty years ago ; but beautiful silver, and India and even Sèvres china, with splendid cut glass, was by no means uncommon.

"The menu was much as it is now : oysters on the shell ; a delicate soup ; the fish in winter, smelts, cusk, or chicken halibut ; in spring, salmon, sea-trout, and shad. For meats, saddle of venison, or mutton, in winter ; later in the season, spring lamb. The last course was ducks, partridges, or quail, and sometimes all of them.

"The friends of the Colonel, at Baltimore, often sent on by packet canvas-backs, red-heads, and terrapin, and he frequently wrote for them ; lettuce and celery were by no means plentiful, and were hard to get ; beet and potato salads taking their place. Lobster, cooked in various ways and as a salad, was a favorite dish ; chess-cakes, and little mince and squash tartlets, very small and dainty, were also in order, with minute apple turn-overs. Ices were served last, and came on the table ordinarily in the forms of pyramids ; the various shapes now common were unknown. The fruits in winter were oranges, Sicily grapes (though not always to be obtained), raisins and figs, and many kinds of nuts, — walnuts, chestnuts, pecans, and ground nuts. Rhine wine was drunk with oysters, sherry with soup, champagne with entrées and meats, claret with game, and port and Madeira with fruit and nuts ; coffee, Cognac, and cigars as a finale. Bananas, fresh grapes, pears, and mandarins were almost unknown, as were also canned tomatoes, asparagus, peas, beans, and mushrooms.

"In those happy days the best champagne was eighteen dollars a dozen ; Chateau Margot and Pontet, nine to twelve ; Cabañas cigars thirty-five to forty dollars a thousand, and Manuel Amores twenty to thirty."

I here close the extracts from a very delightful book, which, though written solely for the edification of a family, is a noteworthy contribution to the history of New England. The

author, Augustus Thorndike Perkins, was the second son, and his older brother continues the name of Thomas H. Perkins in the third generation. When a youth, he seemed to prefer a business life, and was for about two years in the counting-room of Francis Skinner & Co., then one of the leading agents for the cotton-mills. At the age of nineteen, however, he fitted for college, graduated in the class of 1851, received his degree at the law school at Cambridge in 1853, and his degree of A.M. in 1860. He took a creditable position in his class, and was grand marshal of the Porcellian. After graduation he spent a year or more in foreign travel, nearly dying in Syria. He married, March 4, 1861, Miss Susan H. Timmins, who, with two daughters, survives him.

Through his family connections, his wife being a granddaughter of Gardiner Greene, Mr. Perkins became largely interested in various manufacturing companies, serving as director in several, and being treasurer of the Chicopee Company for three years. He was also for several years president of the Douglas Axe Company. In all these positions he made a decided success, although his preferences were in other directions.

In 1862 he purchased land at Cotuit, Massachusetts, and built there a summer home, where he enjoyed the life which he has so vividly described in the reminiscences of his youth.

Mr. Perkins was chosen a member of this Society in February, 1872. He had already been a member of the New England Historic Genealogical Society for eight years, where he had served on the committee on Heraldry, and in 1865-1868 he was one of the four gentlemen who published "The Heraldic Journal." He was an active member of our Society, serving upon committees and on the Council; and his memoir of Thomas C. Amory is printed in our Proceedings, 2d series, vol. v. p. 341. Of his other contributions it is unnecessary to speak, because they were mainly embodied in the book to be noticed. He was led by family ties to give considerable attention to the artistic life of John Singleton Copley; and the result was published in 1873, in a book entitled "A Sketch of the Life and a List of some of the Works" of that artist, pp. 144, and Supplement of 18 pages. Like most works of original research, the amount of material seems disproportionate to the time and labor expended; but this small volume

has been of great service in the discovery or preservation of valuable historical portraits. In 1863 he published a "Sketch of the Family of Dumaresq," Albany, pp. 23. In 1878 he contributed to the Essex Institute Collections a "Notice of the Perkins Arms in England," reprinted as a pamphlet of 13 pages.

Notwithstanding physical powers far beyond the average, Mr. Perkins was an invalid in his later years, suffering from heart-disease. Towards the end dropsy was developed, and his physician warned him that his complaint was incurable. With characteristic pluck and good humor he bore up bravely to the last, and was out daily. On Monday, April 20, he was out; and that afternoon he wrote me a note about genealogy, in a handwriting showing no signs of illness. For the last few days he had expressed himself as feeling better than for some time, and he was left at midnight, very comfortable; but in the morning he was found dead in his bed, without a sign of a struggle.

Without being a profound antiquary, Mr. Perkins had a warm interest in our history, and a willingness to give time and thought to such investigations. Taking a few topics into consideration, he mastered them thoroughly, and put the results into permanent shape. With all his good nature and genial friendship, there was a great deal of firmness and pertinacity in his nature, which showed in his literary work as well as in matters of daily life.

Of him, as a man, a very just estimate was given in the Boston "Post" of April 24, 1891, by Charles A. Prince. I venture to transcribe a part, as being one of those few eulogies which, after the lapse of months, commend themselves to us as true and moderate.

"Tall and commanding in figure, possessed of a magnificent physique, — the very incarnation of manly beauty and strength, — his presence always attracted attention. Joined with these rare personal gifts, he possessed the courtesy of a Sydney and the bearing of a cavalier. Although he filled many important positions in life with dignity and ability, the one great personal trait which endeared him to so many lay in the genial character of his nature, and the peculiar way in which he seemed to fit the type of an ideal gentleman.

" 'Who misses, or who wins the prize,
Go lose or conquer as you can;
But if you fall or if you rise,
Be each, pray God, a gentleman.'"

So sang the greatest novelist of our literature ; and so lived Augustus Thorndike Perkins. In whatever he did — through success and through defeat — he bore himself as the gentleman. How often has the paterfamilias said to his son, ‘Take as the type of a gentleman Augustus Perkins’? The writer has known of many such instances.

“He was thoroughly American. His presence seemed to bring sunshine into every gathering he graced. Sympathetic, he was ever ready to help those in trouble ; heroic, he cultivated in the young a love for manly and daring conduct. For many years identified with the Massachusetts Humane Society, which has done so much to encourage and reward our daring seamen on our dangerous coast, much of the *esprit de corps* which distinguished the heroic band of life-savers whose gallant conduct is revealed with every storm upon our shores is due to his zeal and eagerness to reward their efforts and equip them for their dangerous tasks. Whenever he heard of exploits coming within the sphere of the society, it instantly became his object to investigate and reward.

“His end was characteristic of his life. His passing away was as calm and quiet as King Arthur’s. His spirit went in his sleep ; and we might have said with the poet, who will forgive the slight change :

“ ‘ We thought him dying when he slept,
And sleeping when he died.’ ”

JUNE MEETING, 1892.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant, at three o'clock, P. M., the President, Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS, in the chair.

After the reading of the record of the last meeting, and of the list of donors to the Library during the past month, the PRESIDENT called attention to the publication of two new volumes by our senior Vice-President, Mr. Francis Parkman, and said:—

Among the numerous and miscellaneous objects of historic interest and value which for a full century have been gathering within our halls, as in their fitting depository, I think you will accord with me when I say that that rich and solid oaken cabinet with its contents, the "Parkman Papers," make the chief gem and treasure of our library. Both the cabinet and the papers are the munificent gift to us of our distinguished Vice-President, and they will be an enduring monument to his fame. Those stately folios, with others of like character and contents which may be added to them, contain much of the materials on which the zeal, the patience, the research, and the concentrated literary aims and genius of their collector and editor have been engaged for nearly half a century. He has won the distinction of being the foremost historian of our country; and I know of no historical writer in any other country whose pages surpass those of Mr. Parkman in fidelity to truth of narration, in interest, brilliancy, and vigor of subject, style, and spirit.

Our thoughts and interest are now turned with renewed appreciation upon that cabinet and its contents, because the great purpose for which these papers and much other material were gathered, and after their being put to the best use, has now been crowned by the publication of the last of a series of twelve noble volumes completing a life-labor of the author. In those volumes the most rigid exactions of veritable history and the most fascinating charms of romance unite their attrac-

tions. Most grateful is it for us in our fellowship here to recognize the grandly finished work of our honored associate, and to express to him our full appreciation of his success, and our felicitations that life and mental vigor have supplied his forces.

Mr. Parkman has been signally favored alike in the grandeur of his chosen subject, and in the opportunity of life to pursue and to finish it. We all know the physical impediments and disabilities under which his Spartan heroism has persevered in steady toil. But of these fetherings and constraints we may be silent, because he says so little about them himself, while there is not a trace of them to be found in the brilliant and vigorous glow and power of his pages. I recall but one of the distinguished writers of history whose period for work, from his first volume to his last, was as full as that of Mr. Parkman,—and that is Mr. Bancroft. Mackintosh and Fox, Macaulay and Green and Freeman, not to mention lesser names, left either unfinished or posthumously published works. Mr. Parkman's subject was chosen with a loyal ardor in his college days; and it was so grand a one as to carry inspiration with it for one who had genius and the power to deal ably with it.

It was to be the history of the stern and protracted struggle between France and England for mastery over this northern part of the New World. The stake involved the sway and fortune of an empire and a continent. Kings and statesmen, priests and soldiers, with armies and navies at command, and every type of humanity, courtier and savage, civilized and barbarous, farmer and trader, and white and red men hardly distinguishable in character and habit of life, were to fill the stage in a marvellous panorama of dramas. The Old World and the New were contrasted to be assimilated. The scenes of the exciting and tragic story were interchanging between the intrigues, jealousies, and rivalries of courts, to the depths of solemn primeval wildernesses, lonely, and impenetrable but by savage men and beasts. The scale of all things was grand, with wreathings of solemn mystery. It was among inland seas, embossed lakes, cataracts, and mighty rivers, opening continuous water-ways with occasional carrying-places, through the breadth and length of the continent. The primeval forests showed their successive growths, with only Nature to train them from birth to death; the once patriarchal giants lay

prostrate in their spongy mould, and in all stages of life vigor and decay were represented in their generations as by the sleeping tenants of an old churchyard. The archives of France, England, and Canada, — the depositories of official documents, commissions and instructions, reports of civil and military functionaries, with their bickerings and quarrels, — in all of which was to be traced the tangled web of state-craft, policy, intrigue, and jealousy, were the prime materials for the historian. Of lesser dignity, but often more richly and curiously communicative, were the masses of materials searched out by the marvellous quest and sagacious skill of the historian to supplement, fill in, and attest the matter of his pages. The private papers of every grade and quality of the actors, journals, diaries, letters, itineraries, and rude maps, with cautiously weighed traditions, enrich the text and notes. These paper materials, however, furnish only the warp, the longitudinal threads of Mr. Parkman's volumes. The woof, the cross threading of the narration, is wholly from the personality of the writer, to be filled in by quite another process than that of the study of documents. The intervals of enforced rest used by Mr. Parkman for mental discipline, for thought and discursive readings, and his passion for open-air life and wide roamings, are found to yield their richest results for his pen; the most zealous use of books and manuscript needed, that the narrative to be wrought from them should have in it the charm and aroma of the scenes, the actors and the incidents, the features and the groupings of primitive Nature and savage life. It is here that we recognize the relation between the qualities and aptitudes of the historian and the exactions of his theme. Mr. Parkman's readers own to the fascination which he throws over them as a spell in his picturings and interpretations of Nature, and of the wild roamers through its shades and depths. It will be for a generation of readers soon to follow our own to appreciate to the full the permanence which he has stamped on his pages, of features, scenes, and objects, and of aboriginal forms and ways of life which have all so strangely vanished, thrown into remoteness, displaced as irrevocable and inconceivable, in the present aspect of vast reaches of this continent. It is to Mr. Parkman's wide and wild wanderings, his tramps on the trail, his paddlings in the canoe, his life passed in Indian lodges, — it is to

his proclivity and aptitude for observation and interpretation, his eye and mind for Nature, his affinity and sympathy, well-nigh suggestive of heredity of relation to the aborigines,—that we are indebted for the fidelity, the vividness, and the intensely absorbing spirit of his written work. His apt and felicitous choice of epithets, his turn of a phrase, his colorings and tintings in his verbal paintings, make his type and paper glow with life. A conscientious principle and purpose assure his candor and impartiality.

The mystery and sadness of an extended tragedy invest his subject, which he interprets to us as a struggle between royal absolutism and popular freedom on this open continent. The tragic element is in the defiance of poetic justice, that France, with its priority in time, and vigor of enterprise in exploration and occupancy, seeming to have secured fortified titles to permanence of inheritance and rule here, has not a foothold on this continent. She floats her flag only on a small group of fishing islands.

Mr. CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS, having been called on, read a supplemental paper on "The Genesis of the Massachusetts Town," as follows:—

The Society will remember that at the meeting in January last a paper, at the time referred to as "lengthy and somewhat elaborate," on the origin of the Massachusetts towns and the development of government by town-meeting was submitted by me; also that the whole subject, as well as the conclusions reached in the paper referred to, was discussed by Messrs. Goodell, Chamberlain, and Channing. The symposium, if so I may be permitted to call it, then held, furnished matter sufficient to fill no less than ninety-one pages in the Society's Proceedings,¹ and it might reasonably be supposed left the subject exhausted. I recur to it again, not at all for the purpose of enjoying the last word in a controversy, but because only recently have I seen the contributions of Messrs. Chamberlain and Channing in their matured and printed form, and the matter discussed is to my mind, and for reasons I propose presently to set forth, of such peculiar historical significance that I am solicitous lest my position in regard to it

¹ *Supra*, pp. 172-263.

should be in any way open to misapprehension. I will further add that certain expressions in the printed remarks of both Judge Chamberlain and Professor Channing lead me to apprehend that I failed to make myself clear at least to them; and if I failed to do so to them, still more must I have failed with others.

Stated generally, my endeavor in the paper referred to was to show that the whole political system of Massachusetts, State and town, was what we now call "a new departure." Up to the time the charter of 1629 was granted, the origin of political institutions had to be sought in the ecclesiastical and feudal systems; but those of Massachusetts, on the contrary, must be looked for in the growing commercial activity, and the organizations adapted thereto, then coming into general use. In other words, unconsciously and by mere chance, in the case of Massachusetts the future was divined, — the old was cast loose from, and the destiny of the community called into being was thrown in with the new. Nor is this a mere sounding phrase; for, as the years went on, the distinction meant a great deal, — it meant in the slow process of human evolution the difference between a pure democracy, founded on freedom of thought and the equality of man before the law, and a government recognizing distinctions of caste or priestly domination.

Accordingly, in the paper submitted by me at the January meeting, my contention, based on a careful analysis of original records, was that in Massachusetts the town system had been the natural outgrowth and sequence of the colonial system, — that it was based on the corporate principle, and that "in the original establishment of the town governments and their progressive development to meet the increasing requirements of a growing community the analogy of the charter was closely followed. The body of freemen or inhabitants constituted the General Court of the town, subsequently called the general town-meeting; and the townsmen, later on the selectmen, were the board of assistants, or, as they would now be called, directors." Upon this point, which I regard as of much historical significance, Judge Chamberlain says: —

"I do not perceive the analogy which Mr. Adams perceives between the General Court and Court of Assistants on the one hand, and the 'inhabitants' and 'selectmen,' on the other, in respect to the subjects,

or to the modes of their action severally, — certainly it was not institutional; nor do I think that ‘freemen or inhabitants’ are interchangeable terms equally descriptive of the same class of people; nor that ‘the inhabitants of the towns were those owning lands, — the freeholders, — who were all members of the congregation’; nor that ‘inhabitants’ of towns ‘were in the nature of stockholders in a modern corporation.’ To me these and some similar expressions convey ideas foreign to the homely simplicity of those early people and the nature of their affairs.”¹

It is not necessary for the purpose of establishing the historical fact for which I contend to go into an abstruse discussion of institutions. I do not suppose that the earliest English immigrants bestowed much if any thought on abstract questions, at least those not theological in character. They did not sit down and argue out principles of government, formally incorporating the results of their discussions into laws and constitutions. If I take in the facts correctly, they simply followed, in the development of their institutions, what may most aptly be called the line of least political resistance. The form of colonial government prescribed in their charter was before them and in common use by them; and it was at once simple, familiar, and effective. Founded on the corporate and commercial basis, its organization consisted of a General Court of Proprietors, which at its stated meetings transacted legislative business on matters of common concernment, and elected an executive committee of so-called assistants, to which committee the details of government were intrusted. So far there is no room for difference of opinion. The record is clear, and speaks for itself. Then followed the process of political differentiation. The towns one by one came into existence; and I submit that it is of no consequence whatever whether the result was intentional or otherwise, — whether a model was followed, or whether it was a case of accidental resemblance or analogous development, — the fact none the less remains and is indisputably stamped on the record, that the town system resembled in every essential respect the colonial system, — resembled it as a child resembles a parent. Founded on the corporate principle, — with an element of common as well as individual ownership, — the Plantation, as the town was called, was governed in all matters of local and common con-

¹ *Supra*, pp. 240, 241.

cernment by a court of Proprietors, which later developed into the town-meeting, and this court almost from the first elected an executive committee to which all details of government were intrusted.

If under these circumstances a model was not followed, the results, I submit, were exactly what they would have been if the charter organization as a model had been followed.

Passing over as immaterial the other points of difference between us in the extract I have just quoted, I am not sure I understand what Judge Chamberlain has in mind when he says : —

“ I do not perceive the analogy which Mr. Adams perceives between the General Court and Court of Assistants on the one hand, and the ‘ inhabitants ’ and ‘ selectmen,’ on the other, in respect to the subjects, or to the modes of their action severally, — certainly it was not institutional.”

“ Institutional,” as I understand the word, merely means that which is elementary in institutions. The question is immaterial so far as the essential point in my contention is concerned ; but none the less, if my definition is correct, and I understand what Judge Chamberlain means by “ institutional,” I find myself obliged to take issue with him ; even though experience has taught me that so doing is, on matters connected with early Massachusetts history and its underlying principles, not unattended by the risk of finding myself in the wrong. As I read the early town records, — especially those of Boston, Dorchester, and Dedham, — the distinguishing features of their systems were the corporate existence of plantations, the local business of which was managed by executive boards chosen by bodies of proprietors in General Court assembled, — the whole bearing the closest possible resemblance to the system prescribed in the King Charles charter, and then in regular operation before the eyes of the local plantation proprietors, — and these common features of both systems seem to me nothing if not institutional or elementary. It was moreover in the towns, and especially in Boston, — with its general courts of inhabitants, or freemen, choosing “ the 10 to manage the affaires of the towne,” — it was here, and in this form of government, that the institutional methods prescribed for the colony in the charter were

followed and preserved, while in the government of the colony itself the delegate system had to be improvised, and so to speak injected into it, to meet the exigencies of growth and diffusion. If therefore the earliest system of government in use in the original plantations, or towns, as set forth in the records from which I quoted last January, was not "institutional" under the charter, then it must be conceded the unknown and undiscoverable paternity of that system sets at defiance every generally accepted principle of hereditary resemblance.

I pass now to Professor Channing's caveat against what he refers to as "Mr. Adams's Massachusetts Charter theory."¹ Professor Channing says:—

"One other point occurs to me. Mr. Adams maintains that the charter was the model on which the town system was based. I think there are two objections to that: first, the towns were not based on any model; they grew by the exercise of English common-sense and political experience, combined with the circumstances of the place. Secondly, and much more important, I think, the freemen in general were by no means so in love with the general government of the Company at that time as to wish to model their town government upon it. To make this clear, let us see how the charter was being interpreted by those in power during these years. In 1631 it was voted that the Assistants only should be elected by the freemen, the Governor and Deputy-Governor being elected by the Assistants out of their own number. In 1631 also the Assistants levied a tax, which gave rise to a protest from the people of Watertown; and the protesters came to Boston on Feb. 17, 1631-32, when Winthrop expounded the nature of the Assistants' power."²

Again I find myself compelled to take issue with Professor Channing, a thing I am always most reluctant to do. So far from drawing the same conclusions he has drawn from the incident he refers to in the above extract from his paper, I draw from it conclusions of a wholly opposite character. He says the early settlers were not "so in love" with the general government of the Company at that time as to wish to model their town government upon it. On the contrary, it is the one recognized and accepted fact of early Massachusetts history, that the settlers were "so in love" with their charter

¹ *Supra*, p. 244.

² *Supra*, p. 262.

that they considered it as the very palladium of their rights and liberties, and stood ready to resist by every means in their power any attempt to deprive them of it. In the very case cited by Mr. Channing the freemen of Watertown demanded a view of the charter, not because they "were by no means in love" with it, or the general form of government prescribed in it, but because that form of government was being departed from without their consent. They relied upon its provisions as their protection against an attempted usurpation on the part of the magistrates. Their rights they held were set forth in the charter, and they insisted on having them, — they appealed to the fundamental law. The case cited by Professor Channing in reality, therefore, is against his caveat and in favor of my contention.

But Professor Channing also says that "the towns were not based on any model." Here, as in the case of Judge Chamberlain's criticism already referred to, it is not necessary for the establishing of my contention to go so far as to talk of "models," — that word implies too much. Men who in disposing of the practical affairs of life as they arise follow the nomenclature and methods to which they are accustomed, cannot properly be said to follow "a model"; nor did the early New England immigrants when they organized their plantations and courts of proprietors in the strict verbal sense of the word "model" adopt the charter institutions. They did not sit down as the modern constitution-maker does with documents, treatises, and precedents before them, and turn out as from a machine some patent and approved governmental system. They did nothing in any way resembling this; on the contrary, simple, busy men, engaged in a matter-of-fact way in a very stern struggle for subsistence and shelter, they in the management of their local affairs merely in a natural way followed what I have described as the line of least political resistance along the paths most familiar to them. Nevertheless, in so doing, I submit as a matter of fact, — though unnecessary to my argument, — they did practically work on the "model" of the Charter then staring them in the face; and the fact that they did work on that model is, moreover, clearly shown in the records from which I so fully quoted in my January paper. Indeed, they followed the model so closely that they preserved not only its spirit and original form,

but at first even its nomenclature of "courts," "plantations," "planters," and "proprieters." The General Court in the case of the towns was, and remained, what the charter intended it should be, a meeting of the whole body of proprietors; in the case of the colony it soon ceased to be a meeting of the whole body of proprietors, or freemen, and became, and still is, a delegate body. Thus, if I correctly read the ancient records, it was in the towns, and not in the colony as a whole, that the institutional system provided in the charter was preserved and perpetuated.

Before dismissing this subject, as I suppose forever so far as I personally am concerned, I have a single word more to say. It may seem to many that I have occupied over it more of the time of the Society than its importance deserves, and by so doing swelled unnecessarily the fast-growing bulk of our printed Proceedings. This is very possible; though, of course, I do not think so: but perhaps I have an inordinate opinion of the value and importance of the story of Massachusetts from the point of view of general history. On this subject I ten years ago expressed myself as follows in the preface to a privately printed but never published volume; and neither the time which has since elapsed nor a closer and more continuous study of the subject has led to any modification of my views:

"I do not think the history of any community during an equal period is hereafter destined to outrank in importance the history of Massachusetts from the year 1620 to 1865. . . .

"This is a broad statement, and I am well aware that it will sound like one of those exaggerated expressions of State pride naturally to be expected from members of a small community. Yet there are not many communities to which it has been given to impart to the race a ruling idea or truth; and in those rare cases where it has been so given, the histories of Judea and of Attica should suffice to prove that bigness is not essential to the mission. By a ruling idea or truth, I mean some fundamental principle of political or social conduct which — slowly formulated, and yet more slowly forcing its way into general acceptance — ultimately changes the whole complexion of history. I confidently submit that Massachusetts is one of the half-dozen communities which have had such a message to deliver to mankind, and have delivered it.

"The Hebrews developed the idea of the one God and his commandments, — an idea and a code which have since become the basis of all modern law and civilization. The Athenians next came forward,

embodying the principle of popular government through discussion. It is more than two thousand years since they delivered their message, and it is only now struggling into general acceptance. Rome developed that idea of imperial organization which is the key-note of modern as opposed to ancient history. England originated parliamentary or representative government, and brought it into practical use. It was reserved for Massachusetts to assert the absolute equality of men before the law.

"That idea was the offspring of the English Commonwealth. Its godfathers were Hampden and Milton and Cromwell. It found inarticulate expression in the death of King Charles. No portion of the world was, however, then ready to accept so startling a paradox. All existing habits, traditions, institutions, — social, political, religious, — recoiled from it. It seemed like an absurdity on its face, to assert that the peasant who turned the clod was, before the law, or anywhere else, the equal of the lord at whose castle's gate he lived, or of the priest who represented God. Such an idea no more found acceptance with the peasant than it did with the lord or the priest. Indeed, the first, no long time before, had been a serf, — an adjunct to the soil and inseparable from it. Though a protest against human inequality, the English Commonwealth was, accordingly, only a passing protest. Law, usage, tradition, were forces too powerful to be at once overcome, and the hereditary, privileged-class principle reasserted itself. But meanwhile the germinal idea of the Commonwealth had been transferred across the Atlantic. It was there planted in Massachusetts, where it slowly developed under the most favoring of possible conditions. At first it was hardly more received here than it had been in England. The magistrates talked of the 'common people'; and one code of criminal law applied to them, while another applied to the gentry. But there was no king and no noble in the land, and in the church and the town-meeting all stood upon a footing of absolute equality. Slavery also existed for a time; but it was only in its least objectionable form. No large gangs of bondsmen ever worked under overseers. The system never was organized, and it died a natural death. Thus, when the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 went into effect, all the opposing forces had disappeared, and the principle of human equality before the law, theoretically enunciated in the Declaration, was a thing in practice in New England. The country, as a whole, accepted it only subject to limitations. It applied but to white men. Then in due course of time followed the long slavery struggle, in which Massachusetts was arrayed against Virginia, the Puritan idea against the idea of caste. Not until 1865 was the question definitely settled.

"That this principle, so recently established as the rule of this continent, is destined to become the rule in all civilized countries, now

admits of no question. It is a principle as fundamental as that of the one God, or as government through discussion, or as imperial organization, or as representative rule. As a theory reduced to practice, and made to dominate a continent, it is the contribution of Massachusetts. The question then may not unfairly be put: Has any other community made a greater contribution?"

With this estimate of what I may almost term the supreme historical importance of the Massachusetts record, the single point in it dwelt upon at such length in our January symposium and again now strikes me as essential to the whole. That which it has been sought to establish is the vital initial fact, giving shape to all that thereafter ensued,—the fact so often stated by me,—that Massachusetts was founded not on feudal or ecclesiastical models, but as a corporate commercial enterprise, with all that the phrase to-day implies; and, further, that this corporate, democratic, commercial organization was not confined to the colonial government organized under the charter, but, propagated through the charter, pervaded the town system, and as a consequence, every remotest portion of the New England body politic. Thus King Charles's charter was seminal, and through and by it—no one designing, no one anticipating—a people, following the lines of least political resistance to a conclusion the logical outcome of elementary principles, evolved in process of time a result of momentous human importance. In other words, once more to repeat myself, in the organization of the political system of Massachusetts under the corporate, commercial, commonplace, democratic forms prescribed in King Charles's charter of 1629, the future was unconsciously divined,—it was nineteenth-century daylight first faintly dawning in the earlier years of the seventeenth century.

Mr. SAMUEL F. McCLEARY presented to the Society a Commission issued to "Edward Proctor of Boston as Captain in the regiment of militia whereof John Erving is Colonel."¹ The commission is dated Feb. 26, 1772, and is signed by Thomas Hutchinson, the last of the Royal Civil Governors. Edward Proctor was a man of considerable note in his day. He resided and kept a store at the corner of Fish Street and Proc-

¹ John Erving was a Loyalist. He graduated at Harvard College in 1747. In 1776 he went to England, and died at Bath in 1816, aged 89.

tor's Lane, which was named for him. This store was known as "The Schooner," from the representation of a vessel of that class over the door. He was a prominent member of St. Andrew's Lodge, and was a very active member of the Boston Tea Party, being appointed at a town meeting, Nov. 27, 1773, chairman of a special watch or committee of twenty-five men to see that the tea on board the "Dartmouth" was not landed by night or day. He was the reputed author of the pseudo-Mohawk proclamation which called for the assembly of the Indians and others to destroy the tea. The regiment of militia of which Edward Proctor was appointed captain was known as the Boston Regiment, and was composed of some of the most prominent citizens, many of whom became ardent patriots and officers in the Revolution. At the date of this commission the field-officers of the regiment were John Erving, a son-in-law of Governor Shirley, John Leverett, and Thomas Dawes, the last being the architect of Brattle Street Church.¹

Mr. McCleary also presented a specimen sheet of Washington's private letter-paper. It is of foolscap size, and bears in water-lines the name of George Washington inscribed on a garter arranged in a circular form and surmounted with his familiar crest. Within the garter is seated a female figure holding a Phrygian Cap of Liberty. There is no water-line date on the paper; but it is probably post-Revolutionary in its origin.

He also submitted a copy of an original letter dated Orangetown, N. Y., Sept. 29, 1780, written by Lieut. John Whiting, of the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment, Colonel Brewer commanding, reciting the treason of Arnold, and the capture of Major André, which had taken place on September 23.

Lieut. John Whiting, the writer of the letter, served with distinction through the Revolutionary War, and by successive promotions became a brigadier-general, in which capacity he served with the Massachusetts troops in suppressing Shays's Rebellion. He was a citizen of Lancaster in this State, and this letter was written to his brother Timothy, also a citizen of Lancaster. The original letter is in the possession of the family of the late Paul Willard, of Charlestown, who married a daughter of Timothy Whiting. The letter is somewhat lengthy, and gives an account of the capture of André as current in the American camp at the time.

¹ Thomas Dawes, an ardent patriot, was the father of Judge Thomas Dawes, of the Suffolk Probate Court. He died Jan. 2, 1809.

CAMP ORANGETOWN, Sept. 29, 1780.

DEAR BROTHER, — Yours dated Sept. 14 came to hand the 25th inst. accompanied with others equally satisfactory, for which please to receive my thanks most gratefully proffered.

The agreeable situation you are in as related in both your letters not only gives me pleasure while perusing (as is common on similar occasions) but continues to be very satisfactory. I wish your agreeable situation may be lasting and the iron hand of fate long procrastinate the stroke which cuts the golden chain of pleasure.

How shall I begin to unfold the blackest Treason ever known in the American War, plotted by Major General Arnold who commanded that important post at which you had long performed an assiduous duty and have been witness with what indefatigable zeal many Persons have endeavored to render defensible? Before I proceed let me congratulate you on being released from that department ere it was thrown into such a confused manner as it now is.

How long General Arnold has been plotting with the Enemy is with us uncertain: the first we know of (which is but just discovered) is, his holding a conference with Mr. Andrie, Adjutant General to the British Army near Joshua Smith's house not far from King's ferry, after which Mr. Andrie changed clothes with Smith at his house, and both visited our Army which was not very difficult, Smith being an intimate acquaintance of General Howe, and had often dined with some other of our General Officers. When they had sufficiently reconnoitred our Army Mr. Andrie repairs to General Arnold's quarters at Robertson's House, and by some means got a plan of all the Works, Strength of the Garrison, the Stores, proceedings of a Council of Officers lately held at Head Quarters and in short everything that could be of any advantage to the Enemy. Thus equipped, being also furnished with a horse and a pass signed Benedict Arnold M. G. the purport of which was that John Anderson had permission to pass to the Lines and as much further as he should judge necessary, Mr. Andrie sat off for New York; having rode as far as the Lines by sunset, two Men, who have served as Guides to our advanced Parties, arming themselves, one of them advanced towards him ordering him to Stand. Mr. Andrie thinking himself below all the guards asked the Man if he belonged to the lower party or upper, to which he answered the latter: then says Mr. Andrie, I am a British Officer, showing him a gold watch, which signified as much that no American officer had one: the other Man coming up, they ordered him to dismount: finding himself caught, he began to offer bribes, which they obstinately refused: seeing his gold watch, horse, &c with one hundred guineas could have no effect on them he offered to bind himself by the most sacred covenant to give them whatever they would demand, to make them Gentlemen of independant fortunes

when they arrived at New York, all of which did not prevent these inflexible Patriots from carrying him to L. Colonel Jemmerson¹ who commanded Col. Shelding's² regiment of Dragoons at N. Salem. Col. Jemmerson supposed the pass to be a forgery. Mr. Andrie professed to be perfectly innocent, demanded of him to be sent to and examined by Genl. Arnold, who alone knew his business.

Very providentially it happened that Col. Jemmerson thought best to send papers of such importance to his Excellency General Washington at Hartford, which he did by an Express, who coming near Hartford was informed his Excellency was returning by way of Fish-Kill: the Express followed but did not reach him till after he had got to West Point.

When his Excellency with his Train came to Mandeville's they viewed the Redouts on the East side, while two Aids went on to Genl. Arnold's quarters.

Genl. Arnold had just received a letter from Col. Jemmerson informing him of his taking up — John Anderson with a forged pass. It seems Col. Jemmerson, finding the Express gone so long, wrote to Genl. Arnold, and sent the Prisoner afterwards. The Traitor saw by this letter he should soon be discovered, desired the *Aids de camp* to excuse him to his Excellency for an hour while he went to West Point having some business that required his presence immediately: then going upstairs told his Wife he had received a letter which obliged him to take his farewell of her and his Country forever: She fainted, but he left her, repaired to his Barge and ordered his Men to row him down the River as Speedy as possible. His Excellency came to the house just after, was told General Arnold had gone to West Point on some urgent business, he concluded to follow, and return to dine with him: coming to West Point General Arnold had not been there: about the same time the Express from Col. Jemmerson arrived and delivered the papers. His Excellency immediately dispatched two of his Aids to Verplank's Point with express orders to stop Gen. Arnold, but they arrived some time after he had passed that under pretence of a flag and gone on board the Sloop Vulture which lay up by Tyler's point. Thus escaped Benedict Arnold from the vengeance of his injured Country to linger out a contemptible life among a people who will ever despise him for his perfidy.

When Mr. Andrie was brought to Robertson's more of the plot was unravelled. Smith was sent for and taken at Fishkill. The Garrison at West Point were ordered under Arms: orders came to Major Gen. Green which put the Pennsylvania division on their march for West Point, the rest of the Army in readiness to march at the shortest notice.

Let me now relate the sacrifice which Arnold intended to make, although it should stun your ears.

¹ Lieut.-Col. David Jameson. He died Oct. 2, 1839.

² Col. Elisha Sheldon, of Connecticut.

The night of the 25 inst. Col. Robertson¹ with five hundred Men was to pass by Verplank's point dressed like our Troops under a pretence of a reinforcement from our Army: at Robertson's house Arnold was to be surprised. General Washington, the Marquis de la Fayette, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, ambassador, B. Genl. Knox, all their aids and attendants were to be taken, after which they were to take possession of West Point, which [*torn*] much resistance the Garrison being reduced (would you believe it) to about three hundred Militia, besides Artillery, having under various pretences been distributed *here* and *there*—two hundred cutting wood at one place. The soldiers in the Garrison had not more than two Cartridges per man, having been divested of them under the plausible pretence that two was enough to stand on Sentry: had they more they would waste them—no alarm post was assigned to any but the Artillery. You see how easily this might have taken place; but can you discern how near the brink of ruin we were? Men at the head of our military affairs with illustrious Foreigners captured; the communication between the States cut off:—The treachery was to be kept a secret and Arnold after receiving his reward was to have his Parole and return to his Seat in Philadelphia to spend in his former luxurious manner the Judas-like gain. Mr. Andrie and Mr. Smith are to be tried today. Andrie was one of their most promising officers in the British Service and had attained the rank of Major from a Lieutenant by particular merits.

How propitious! how merciful! is indulgent heaven in [*torn and illegible*] the almost inconceivable depravity of human nature which cautions [*torn*] not to rest secure in human faith without suffering us to purchase our [*torn*] dearly by experience. Would time allow [*torn*] further relation of so despicable [*torn*] how the public Stores were disposed of by Genl. Arnold.

Mrs. Warren lent him twenty-two thousand dollars which he left unpaid.

Many Persons say they were not deceived in Genl. Arnold: I confess I had a good opinion of him as an Officer in the Field, but ever thought him to be ambitious and possess of a great degree of avarice and luxury. Some imagine his profuse manner of living had so involved him in debt that poverty urged him to it. Enough upon so perfidious a person. Leave him to his fate and admire the Man who bears to be honest in the worst of times.

I ask you to excuse my answering some part of your letter this time. If I have been too prolix (which I am very conscious of) I have been particular and such matters are seldom ever related minutely in public papers. I have not seen Lieut. Shaw since I received yours

¹ Col. Beverley Robinson, a Loyalist, whose mansion on the Hudson was occupied by Arnold as his headquarters. He fled with Arnold to England, and died at Thornbury in 1792.

nor can I give him timely notice of Dr. Wingate's departure. Many Gentlemen enquire after and send their compliments to you. Capt. Burbank standing by insists on his name being mentioned.

I am, dear Brother, yours affectionately,

JOHN WHITING.

TIMOTHY WHITING Juneor. Esq.
Lancaster.

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN made the following remarks on a small volume which he presented to the library of the Society. He said that it had once belonged to our late associate, Dr. Thomas H. Webb, as it bears his autograph signature on the titlepage. It was published originally as a pamphlet, but has since been bound. The little book is entitled: "RELIGION | AND | PATRIOTISM | The CONSTITUENTS of a Good | SOLDIER. | A | SERMON | Preached to | Captain OVERTON'S Independant | Company of Volunteers, raised in | *Hanover County, Virginia, August 17, 1755.* | By SAMUEL DAVIES, A. M. Minister of | the Gospel there." ||

PHILADELPHIA, Printed: LONDON; Re-printed for J. BUCKLAND, in *Pater-noster Row*, J. WARD at the *King's-Arms* in *Cornhill*, and T. FIELD in *Cheapside*. 1756. 8vo. pp. 38.

The writer in his day was a noted minister of Virginia; but the interest in the sermon lies wholly in the fact that it contains a remarkable prediction concerning General Washington, made twenty years before the Revolution. In preaching to the military company, Mr. Davies says:—

"Our Continent is like to become the Seat of War; and we, for the future (till the sundry *European* Nations that have planted Colonies in it, have fixed their Boundaries by the Sword) have no other Way left to defend our Rights and Privileges. And has God been pleased to diffuse some Sparks of this Martial Fire through our Country? I hope he has: And though it has been almost extinguished by so long a Peace, and a Deluge of Luxury and Pleasure, now I hope it begins to kindle: And may I not produce you my Brethren, who are engaged in this Expedition, as Instances of it?" (Pages 11, 12.)

In a foot-note to this paragraph he adds:—

"As a remarkable Instance of this, I may point out to the Public that heroic Youth Col. *Washington*, whom I cannot but hope Providence has hitherto preserved in so signal a Manner, for some important Service to his Country." (Page 12.)

The sermon was preached only a few weeks after the engagement which resulted in Braddock's Defeat, where Washington behaved with signal gallantry ; and the allusion in the note is to that action, as well as to the battle of the Great Meadows in the summer of the preceding year.

Dr. Green also called attention to a manuscript list of Micmac names of places, lakes, and rivers in Nova Scotia, with their meanings, which was compiled by Miss Elizabeth Frame, of Shubenacadie, N. S., and given by her to the Library. The names are nearly three hundred in number.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD J. YOUNG then said : —

I desire to communicate the following letter, which was written by a young Quaker of Philadelphia, on his first visit to Boston, ninety-one years ago. In consequence of terrific gales, the ship in which he sailed was more than five weeks on her voyage, which was as long a time as is now necessary for a packet to go from New York to Hamburg. On his arrival here, he was favorably impressed by the people ; but, coming from a city which was laid out almost in parallelograms, he naturally was not pleased with our crooked streets.

This letter mentions briefly several of the principal objects of interest in the town. The crescent-shaped block of houses named the "Tontine," which was situated on what was afterwards called Franklin Place, is especially praised. The new Faneuil Hall Market, popularly known as Quincy Market, was not then built. Charles River Bridge, leading to Charlestown, had been opened in 1786 ; and West Boston Bridge, leading to Cambridge, in 1793. The Beacon monument or column, which is alluded to, was completed in 1790 ; and the new State House was finished in 1798.

Of Charles Bulfinch, the well-known designer of both these last-named structures, and who was a member of this Society, I have heard an anecdote which may not be generally known. His son, Stephen Greenleaf Bulfinch, who told it to me, said that, after leaving college, he wished to be an architect. But his father dissuaded him, saying that most of the States already had their capitols erected, and that if he should devote himself to this occupation, there would probably not be enough for him to do. Accordingly he became a clergyman. Inas-

much as there are to-day more than two hundred architects in Boston, and not a church or schoolhouse or warehouse or private dwelling of any considerable size is constructed except according to plans furnished by competent talent for the purpose, the remark of Mr. Bulfinch shows how little he anticipated the future rapid increase of wealth in this country, and the opportunities which would exist for members of his profession.

Boston, 5 mo. 21st 1801.

DEAR SISTERS, — It may perhaps surprise you to hear from me at Boston, without you have heard of my going, from your Brothers in Philadelphia; and still more perhaps you would be surprised if I was to give you some description of the place and my journey, which I would have done some time since, if I had been well enough to have seen much of the town after my arrival there.

I left Philadelphia the 13th of the 3d month, and after being at sea about 18 days we experienced a very severe storm in which we were cast away on the Jersey shore near Amboy. We were there ten days, getting the vessel off the shore, when we again set sail; but before we had been out more than a week, we underwent as severe a storm as the one which we were cast away in. In this last storm we were drove into the Gulf of Florida and almost to the West Indies, and there were 11 Eastern coasting vessels lost. We however weathered it out, and arrived safe in Boston on the 19th of the 4th mo. after a passage of thirty-six days.

In my opinion the manners of the people here are much more hospitable than they are in Philadelphia; but the place itself is no comparison, the streets are extremely narrow and so crooked that it is impossible to see the length of a Philadelphia Square before you in any one street in Boston.

There are a great number of public places of worship, and some very handsome public buildings, among which are the New State House and a New Alms House; the former, there is nothing in Philadelphia to equal it; the latter, the Hospital in Philadelphia is much handsomer. They have one very handsome street here on which are the Tontine buildings, which is a great ornament to the town. It contains a monument to the memory of Dr. Benjamin Franklin. In this street is kept the Boston Library, which is very small in comparison to the one in Philadelphia. Their market house is very bad.

There is a fine wharf here called the Long Wharf. It extends from the street the amazing length of 1743 feet into the harbour in a straight line, and the breadth is 104 feet. On this wharf there is a well from which vessels are supplied with fresh water, surrounded by salt water.

The view of the town, as it is approached by water, is very handsome. The State House on Beacon hill, which is in the middle of the town, is so high that it can be seen at the distance of fifty or sixty miles. There is a monument on this hill, on the bottom of which is written an inscription commemorating the most remarkable events during the American Revolution. There are two Bridges here, which are very useful and ornamental to Boston, called Charles River and West Boston bridges. The last stands on one hundred and eighty Piers, and is said to be nearly two miles in length, and has draws for the admission of vessels, and a number of lamps for evening passengers.

Excuse the length of my letter, but I could, if it would not be too long, make a great addition to it. For a description of the country, I believe you must wait until I have the pleasure of seeing you again.

Please give my love to Father and Mother, Brothers and Sisters.

from your affectionate Brother,

M. & E. Johnson }
New Garden. }

ROBERT JOHNSON.

Attention was called to a new volume of Collections which was ready for publication, comprising a selection from the correspondence of Wait Winthrop, with his portrait, and numerous fac-similes of autographs. Among the most important documents in the volume are an elaborate report on the method of procedure in the courts of Massachusetts, drawn up in 1700 for transmission to England, of which no copy now exists at the State House, and the plaintiff's brief in the famous case of *Winthrop v. Lechmere*, appealed from Connecticut to the privy council in England. There are also numerous letters and documents of one kind and another throwing light on the social, political, and economic condition of Massachusetts and Connecticut at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Mr. R. C. WINTHROP, Jr., said : —

On the completion of successive volumes of selections from the Winthrop Papers, of which the one laid on the table to-day is the sixth, there has usually been a tacit understanding that, owing to the accumulation of partially examined material, the Committee would hold over and sooner or later be authorized to prepare another. In the present instance, however, it has been arranged that the existing Committee shall

now be relieved from further duties, they having been virtually in office about twelve years; during which time they have not merely edited three separate volumes, but have examined thousands of other manuscripts, of which they have rejected many as not worth printing, have communicated others at different times to the Proceedings, and have set aside the rest for the use of their successors. For reasons which I shall presently mention, it is not thought expedient to appoint a new Committee for several years to come, and in view of the uncertainty of human life and the possibility that the task may hereafter devolve upon members who have had no previous acquaintance with the subject, I have thought it prudent to prepare for convenient reference in our Proceedings a short statement of what has thus far been accomplished and of what remains to be done.

So few of us nowadays find time to interest themselves actively in the Society's work of publication, that it may be well to begin by alluding to the fact that we are in the habit of printing two distinct classes of historical material, — the first class being that which is actually owned or controlled by the Society; and the second class being the private property of members or other persons, who permit us to publish selections for the use of students. The Society owns or controls many Winthrop manuscripts, some of them of great value as autographs; but all considered worth printing were published long ago, and for the past thirty years the term "Winthrop Papers" has been conventionally applied to an exceptionally large number of letters and state-papers of the Colonial and early Provincial periods which came into my father's possession from two different sources, and which originally belonged to a still larger collection formerly preserved at New London by five generations of his family. During the Revolutionary War Gov. Jonathan Trumbull was allowed access to it by a great-uncle of mine, then its owner, and was permitted to take copies of a number of papers, and to borrow others, for purposes connected with Connecticut history. Trumbull died in 1785, without having completed this undertaking, and my aforesaid great-uncle having predeceased him, the latter's heirs appear to have made no effort for the recovery of the material thus loaned; so that when, in 1794, the bulk of Trumbull's papers was given by his family to this Society, they were found to

contain many Winthrop papers which had become separated from the New London Collection. Some of them subsequently perished in the conflagration which destroyed much valuable property of the Society in 1825, while others will be found printed in the first volume of our Third Series of Collections and in the ninth volume of our Fifth Series.

It happened, however, that before we came into possession of the Trumbull Papers they had been consulted by Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, the historian, and by Noah Webster, the lexicographer, the latter of whom was so much interested in a copy Governor Trumbull had made of the first and second manuscript volumes of Governor Winthrop's "History of New England" (often styled Winthrop's Journal), that, with the consent of the Winthrop family and the Trumbull heirs, he prepared it for the press, and in 1790 it was published at Hartford, in a single volume, by Elisha Babcock. Twenty-six years later, in 1816, the third of Governor Winthrop's manuscript volumes unexpectedly came to light in the tower of the Old South Church, it having been loaned to and never returned by the Rev. Thomas Prince, who died in 1758; and, as many of us remember, our former President, Mr. Savage, devoted years of his life to properly editing the entire work from the original manuscripts, eventually publishing it in two volumes, the first of which appeared in 1825, the second in 1826, and in the appendices to both of which were printed many family letters and other papers obtained by him from one of our Corresponding Members, the late Francis Bayard Winthrop, of New Haven, who had inherited a fragment of the New London Collection. In this laborious work Mr. Savage was much assisted by another of our members, Mr. James Bowdoin, who subsequently undertook single-handed to prepare for the press an important portion of the same collection, then belonging to his father, Hon. Thomas Lindall Winthrop; and at the time of his death, in 1833, he had finished deciphering and copying one hundred and thirty-five early Colonial letters of exceptional value. My father was then in active political life, and had not yet developed a taste for historical pursuits; it was not until more than ten years afterward that, having in the mean time been elected to this Society, he communicated to it the material prepared by his brother, which occupies more than two hundred pages of the ninth and tenth volumes of our Third Series of Collections.

Then followed a long interval during which my father was otherwise engaged; but in 1855, having been elected President of the Society and having virtually retired from public life, he endeavored to procure the loan, for historical purposes, of that portion of the original collection which still remained at New London and belonged to his cousin, the late William Henry Winthrop. In this he was unsuccessful; but at the latter's death, in 1860, his papers passed into my father's possession, and proved to be much more numerous and far more important than had previously been supposed, though they had suffered sadly from damp and, in some cases, from mice. My father realized how difficult it would be for him, consistently with his other occupations, to make an exhaustive examination of this mass of new material; and after consulting with Mr. Savage and Mr. Charles Deane, the following plan was adopted: My father undertook to have gradually arranged in folio volumes his entire collection of Winthrop Papers (including those which had previously come to him from his father), and after reserving for his personal use those immediately relating to Gov. John Winthrop the elder (upon whose Life he was then engaged), as well as the right of making separate use of whatever he might see fit hereafter to select, he agreed to place the balance for a considerable period at the service of a Committee of this Society, to be called the Committee on the Winthrop Papers, whose duty should be to edit selections for the use of historical students; but it was provided that, in view of the restricted income of our publishing-funds, a separate vote of the Society should be required to authorize the publication of each successive volume. In accordance with this arrangement, in February, 1861, a Committee was appointed, consisting of my father, Mr. Charles Deane, and Dr. Chandler Robbins, who forthwith went to work and laid their first volume on our table in March, 1863. Receiving permission to continue without delay, they produced their second volume in January, 1865, when they were again empowered to prepare another. This third volume lagged from various causes, the work growing harder as it proceeded; and the Committee, having been nine years in office, made up their minds that they needed reinforcement. They were fortunate in securing the services of our present Treasurer, Mr. C. C. Smith; and it was largely due to his

assistance that they were able to present their third volume in June, 1871. Then occurred a very long interval during which hardly anything was done. My father was a good deal absent in Europe and elsewhere, Mr. Deane was very busy, Dr. Robbins's eyesight had begun to fail, and the Society was committed to other publications for which its means barely sufficed. In the winter of 1879-1880 I first began, at my father's desire, to take an active part in the work, and it was decided to take a fresh start. It was arranged that the three senior members of the Committee should retire; and in April, 1880, a new Committee was appointed, consisting of Mr. Smith, Mr. George Dexter (then our Recording Secretary), and myself. The Society's income being at a low ebb, I agreed to defray the expense of a fourth volume in order to avoid further delay, and we produced it in September, 1882. We then preferred to wait until the Society should be again in funds; and it was not until January, 1887, that we were empowered to proceed, Prof. Edward Channing being added to the Committee, on account of the lamented death of Mr. Dexter. We produced the fifth volume in April, 1889, and were at once authorized to publish another, for which we had already made considerable preparation, and which could have been ready by January, 1891. It occurred to us, however, that this would be the Centennial anniversary of the Society, and that it would be more appropriate if the Centennial volume of Collections should consist of additional selections from the Belknap Papers, Dr. Jeremy Belknap being generally recognized as our founder. We accordingly laid aside the Winthrop volume for the time being, but resumed work upon it last spring, and it is to-day ready for distribution.

Setting aside the separate publications of Mr. Savage and of my father, there are thus in print six volumes of Collections wholly devoted to selections from the Winthrop Papers, while fully the equivalent of a seventh is to be found scattered through other publications of the Society, and consists of material communicated at monthly meetings or contributed to other volumes of Collections. It is very difficult to make even a rough estimate of how many more will be required, so many letters of subordinate historical importance having thus far received only a cursory examination. It may turn out that three more volumes will suffice, after setting aside a variety of

manuscripts which might separately be communicated to the Proceedings; and in such case one of these volumes would necessarily be somewhat miscellaneous in its character, while the other two would chiefly consist of letters addressed to John Winthrop, Jr., during his Governorship of Connecticut. The reason why I am indisposed to have the Society take any further steps in the matter for several years to come, if not longer, lies in the extreme difficulty, if not impossibility, of getting together at present a thoroughly satisfactory Committee, — that is to say, three Resident Members interested in the Colonial period, with some experience in editing and a reasonable amount of leisure to devote to it. Those who are most competent are, as a rule, engrossed by other occupations, and the duties of a Committee on Collections are more laborious than those of a Committee on Proceedings. The latter have their work cut out for them. They are chiefly occupied in editing papers communicated by others; and when a member presents a communication, he is ordinarily expected to afford some assistance in seeing it through the press. A Committee on Collections gets no such help; and each member of it, if he is to be really useful, must be prepared, not merely to run his eye over proof-sheets, but to burrow among original material, which is often very difficult to decipher. When the second Winthrop Committee was appointed, twelve years ago, we secured an eminently fit colleague in the late Mr. Dexter; but his health failed shortly after, he was able to do very little, and we subsequently had great difficulty in replacing him. We finally enlisted a capable recruit in the person of Professor Channing, whose apparently rude health seemed to us of happy augury; but, as ill-luck would have it, his duties at Harvard gradually increased to such an extent that he became of little use to us. This increasing scarcity of available volunteers has been such that the Society reluctantly adopted a plan, which has now been in operation for two years and a half, of employing a superintendent of publication to relieve all Committees whatsoever of the most fatiguing part of their work. The member appropriately intrusted with these functions happened to be the one who had long been the mainstay of the Winthrop Committee; and he can no longer be relied on for assistance in this direction, unless it falls within the line of his official duties, as was fortunately the case with

the present volume. I therefore prefer to revert, for the next few years, to the original method of conducting the publication single-handed, in the hope that I may obtain some aid outside the Resident membership of the Society. This arrangement, moreover, will leave me free, upon my own responsibility and at my own expense, to try the experiment of a few changes in the method of publication which have long seemed to me desirable, but which need not be repeated if they do not commend themselves to the readers of the next volume. One of these changes is in the matter of *extracts*. The traditions of the Society are opposed to printing extracts in its volumes of Collections, — the rule, with rare exceptions, having been to print a manuscript in full, or not at all. There can be no question that this is the proper course to pursue in dealing with historical material of the highest order; but it is an inconvenient rule to apply to papers of subordinate importance, where numerous letters by the same person have to be winnowed and sifted. It not infrequently results either in printing wearisome letters, of which only two or three sentences are of any value, or in depriving a student of a few sentences which might materially assist him. In the last two volumes of Winthrop Papers a limited number of such extracts were inserted at my desire, but generally in the foot-notes; my present purpose is to print in the text of the succeeding volume a very much larger number, as I have derived great benefit and instruction from similar extracts furnished in the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and in various Calendars of State Papers issued by the British Government.

Another change is in the method of annotation. The Society's footnotes are often of considerable value and importance; but the almost invariable rule has been to print them in the type technically known as *bourgeois*, a type three sizes smaller than the text of the Collections. To persons whose sight is good this matters little; but to the army of short-sighted readers, myself included, *bourgeois* is a decided inconvenience; and my intention is to substitute for it the type known as *long primer*, as was done by the editors of the ninth volume of our First Series. In this matter of type, moreover, I wish to leave myself free to adopt a more radical change if I see fit. When the original Committee entered upon their duties, my father

suggested that the type he was about using in his separate publication of Governor Winthrop's letters, and already used by Mr. Savage for the Governor's Journal (the type known as *small pica*), would be sufficiently large for the purpose, in view of the exceptional amount of matter to be printed. Mr. Deane, however, preferred to adhere to the more imposing type known as *pica*, on the ground that it had long become the traditional type of the Society's Collections, as it has since continued to be with one important exception. In 1868, the Committee on the Mather Papers (Dr. Robbins, Professor Torrey, and Dr. Lothrop) took the responsibility of printing the result of their labors in small *pica*, in order to produce a single volume for convenient reference, rather than divide homogeneous material; and I prefer to be at liberty to follow their example, should it hereafter appear desirable. I realize how hazardous a thing it is for an elderly gentleman to undertake to tell a Society what he intends to do in the future, when the uncertainties of life and health are such that he may end by doing little or nothing; but, in any event, it may be convenient to some succeeding Committee to know what I had in view, even if they do not carry out my plans.

It occurs to me to add, in conclusion, that my father and I have never felt any special sense of obligation to the Society at large for spending so much money in publishing these papers. We have considered that in so doing they merely fulfilled one of the principal objects for which the Society was founded, and that we furnished an ample *quid pro quo*. But, on the other hand, we have always felt the strongest obligation to those members who, at different periods, have voluntarily devoted so much time and trouble to participation in this undertaking, and to three of them in particular. First of all, I need hardly say, to Mr. Savage, who worked at a period when hardly a tenth part of the authorities for reference now in existence were available, and when the duties of an editor were necessarily far more laborious than at present; next to him, to Mr. Charles Deane, whose accurate judgment and familiarity with early New England history made his advice and assistance of the utmost importance; and, in succession to Mr. Deane, to our Treasurer, Mr. Charles C. Smith, who has served on the Committee on the Winthrop Papers longer than any one else, and has given to his editorial duties a degree of

careful attention which few of us properly appreciate. The co-operation of my father and myself in this work has been largely due to family associations; but the three gentlemen I have named labored solely for the love of history. The preference of Mr. Savage for a separate form of publication identifies him permanently with it; but the mere mention in different volumes of the names of Mr. Deane and Mr. Smith as members of a publishing Committee conveys no adequate idea of the value of services to which I gladly take this opportunity of paying a passing tribute.

It was voted that the stated meetings for July, August, and September should be omitted, but that the President and Recording Secretary should have authority to call a special meeting during the intermission, if they should deem it expedient.

Mr. George S. Merriam, of Springfield, was elected a Resident Member.

A new serial of the Proceedings, covering the meetings in March, April, and May, was ready for delivery at this meeting. It comprised, among other matters, a diary of Rev. Eli Forbes, referring to which the Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE mentioned some very amusing variations in the name now written Forbes. While engaged in preparing his "History of Cambridge," he had seen the name spelled Farrabas, Farrowbush, Forbes, Forbus, Forbush, and Forbes.

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